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ROSE CROSS OVER THE BALTIC

The Spread of Rosicrucianism in Northern Europe

BY

SUSANNA ÅKERMAN

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PREFACE

Much new material on the Rosicrucians has emerged in recent years. The publishing conditions for the first Rosicrucian manifestoes have been studied in detail and the origin of these writings in Tübingen and Cassel has been set beyond doubt. With this emphasis on local events in Southern Germany it has become increasingly evident that it is time to construct a general perspective of the movement that supplants Frances Yates controversial statement *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1973). The way to do so is to study the various Rosicrucian replies as they emerged in their local settings. In this book I do this for the Baltic area. I investigate the millenarian aspects of Rosicrucianism as it emerges from a reading of Johannes Bureus' papers. This material has been little known due to the reticence of researchers to publish on Bureus as a Rosicrucian. When Bureus' favourite idea, that of The Lion of the North, was studied by Johan Nordström in the 1930s, it was readily seen that it could be associated with the Nazi myth of the Nordic Superman. Confronted by the negative role of national myths, Nordström abandoned the project of making a synthesis of the Paracelsian and Hermetic material found in Swedish archives. In 1942, Nordström's student Sten Lindroth published on Bureus as a Paracelsian but kept the references to the Lion of the North at a minimum. I show that the Paracelsian myth of the Lion of the North was an essential ingredient in the political use of the Rosicrucian writings.

INTRODUCTION

Rosicrucianism is a theosophy advanced by an invisible order of spiritual knights who in spreading Christian Hermeticism, Kabbalah, and Gnosis seek to enliven and to preserve the memory of Divine Wisdom, understood as a feminine flame of love called Sofia or Shekhinah, exoterically given as a fresh unfolded rose, yet, more akin to the blue fire of alchemy, the blue virgin. Rosicrucians have no organisation and there are no recognizable Rosicrucian individuals, but the order makes its presence known by leaving behind engrammatic writings in the genre of Hermetic-Platonic Christianity.[1]

The historical roots of Hermeticism is to be located in Ancient Egypt. Long before the rise of Christianity, Hermetic texts were structured around the belief that organisms contain sparks of a Divine mind unto which they each strive to attend. Things easily transform into others, thereby generating certain cyclical patterns, cycles that periodically renew themselves on a cosmic scale. These transformations of life and death were enacted in the Hermetic Mysteries in Ancient Egypt through the gods Isis, Horus, and Osiris. In the Alexandrian period these myths were reshaped into Hermetic discourses on the transformations of the self with Thot, the scribal god. These discourses were introduced in the west in 1474 when Marsilio Ficino translated the Hermetic *Pimander* from the Greek. The story of Christian Rosencreutz can be seen as a new version of these mysteries, specifically tempered by German Paracelsian philosophy on the Lion of the darkest night, a biblical icon for how the higher self lies slumbering in consciousness.[2]

In this book, I develop the Rosicrucian theme from a Scandinavian perspective by linking selected historical events to scenarios of the emergence of European Rosicrucianism that have been advanced from other geographic angles. The Rosicrucian texts can be divided

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[1] One text that expands on this position is Paul Foster Case, *The True and Invisible Rosicrucian Order*, Weiser; York, ME, USA, 1985. Original edition in 1927, revised in 1937, 1953.

[2] For the idea that Hermes Trismegistos and Christian Rosencreutz are "mystery-names" designed to meet slightly different ends see the preface by Joost R. Ritman in Carlos Gilly, *Rosencreutz als Europäische Phänomen* (1995).

into three distinct epochs. In its first historical phase from about 1610 to 1620, Rosicrucianism emerged as a mixture of popular eschatology and Paracelsian ideas that seemed to hold the promise of a fundamental change in Protestant culture, a fundamental social change to be sure, that never fully materialized. At the same time, early Rosicrucianism was characterized by resistance to the Counter-Reformation, urged on by the anonymous Rosicrucian writings and their call for a gathering of the reformers. The first pamphlet was published with a satirical text on Apollo and the seven wise men, being the seventy-seventh chapter of Trojano Boccalini's *The General Reformation of the Whole Wide World.* The call for reform was shrouded in reverence for Christian Rosencreutz, the German knight who had travelled in the Orient and whose grave from 1484 was described in the first Rosicrucian tract *Fama Fraternitatis Roseae Crucis*, published in 1614 at Kassel and adressed to all learned and to the governors of Europe.

In a second phase, 1620–1660, Rosicrucianism was exploited to justify certain political causes; most notably, the Rosicrucian idea of a society of invisible agents in possession of higher spiritual knowledge was absorbed into the clandestine cause for restoring the Stuarts to the British throne.[3]

In a third major phase, 1710–1740, Rosicrucian ideas were revived in aristocratic circles to reinforce a somewhat different aim: to form a select spiritual elite in Europe through higher-grade Masonic initiation.

As a self-contained fiction, Rosicrucianism offers the belief in a secret society that controls the ascent of the soul to the Divine essence through a carefully crafted hierarchy of insights, each level opening to some higher initiatory process of instruction. How this belief was placed in the society of the Enlightenment through Masonic and para-Masonic channels during the first half of the eighteenth century is, however, a quite different story from how Rosicrucianism actually took root in Germany during the first decades of the seventeenth century. While the first phase of Rosicrucianism was formed by radical Paracelsians, the second phase was right-wing, aristocratic,

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[3] It is uncontested that Rosicrucian rhetoric influenced Scottish Freemasonry by 1638; George Erskine, the former privy councellor to James VI and I, received an English translation of the *Fama* in 1639; David Lindsay Earl of Balcarres obtained a Scottish translation shortly thereafter. See Adam McLean, *A Compendium on the Rosicrucian Vault*, Hermetic Research Series no. 4; Edinburgh, 1985, pp. 1–17.

and restorationist. Nevertheless, activists of both phases shared the Rosicrucian belief in the potential for personal development, the belief that there are ways to expand the soul in new and passionate directions. Rosicrucians see themselves as charged with a desire to attain the higher self, as ready to unfold their humanity, ready to bloom out as manifold spiritual microcosms of the greater world. In a process that remains obscure, central Rosicrucian ideas on Divine Sovereignty gradually transformed into a ritualized enactment of personal awakening as Rosicrucian texts were taken up on the one hand by early British Freemasons (Robert Moray, George Erskine, Elias Ashmole) and on the other hand by German Pietists (Samuel Richter, Herman Fictuld, F. C. Oetinger), later to find resonance in the philosophical writings of Herder and Hegel.[4]

My own path to Rosicrucian studies has been one of historical research. I first became involved in these studies in 1988 while I was doing research in the archives of the Bibliotheca Vaticana. I had come across a 1660 reference to a group of alchemists in Rome who claimed that they belonged to a clandestine sect, "una compagnia intitolata della Rosa Croce o come altri dicono dell' Aurea Croce."[5] They proclaimed that their wisdom had been brought to the West in 1182 by an Italian knight, Morieno Romanus, in the form of an Arabic dialogue on alchemy with Rex Calid in Constantinople. This cherished dialogue, I was soon to discover, describes the precious process of preparing the alchemical tincture. Rex Calid explained this process as only the covering of a spiritual message; very simply put, that the philosopher's stone is within us. Calid, however, was Khalid ibn Yazid, the Ummayad prince who died in the year 704 C.E., and who ordered a group of Greek philosophers living in Egypt to translate texts about the art of alchemy from the Greek and Coptic languages into Arabic. Romanus was the contemporary student of Stephanos the Byzantine and Adfar Alexandrinus; the dialogue itself had been translated into Latin in 1144 by Robert of Chester.

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[4] In 1710, Rosicrucianism was revived in Central Europe by a Pietist from Silesia, "Sincerus Renatus", i.e., Samuel Richter. See Christopher McIntosh, *The Rose Cross and the Age of Reason*, E. J. Brill; Leiden, 1992, pp. 30–33, 47.

[5] "La Bugia", MS. Reg. Lat. 1521, Bibliotheca Vaticana. See Mino Gabriele, *Il Giardino di Hermes*, Roma, 1987. See also "Carlo V" canto V:89, "De la mia Rosea Croce aurea fortuna" by the same author in Anna Maria Partini, ed. *Francesco Maria Santinelli: Sonetti Alchimici e altri scritti inediti*, Mediterrané; Roma, 1985.

My surprise at finding this information flowed from other reasons altogether, however. There was something strange and unexpected transmitted by these Vatican documents that did not depend on their alchemical content. The original Rosicrucians are often considered to have died out by 1623 and then only to have been revived rhetorically for political reasons among British monarchists preparing the restoration of the Stuarts to the English throne in 1660. Here was an Italian group that pledged themselves as Rosicrucians in an epoch where no such fraternities were thought to exist, especially not south of the Alps. Even more puzzling, how could ideas that had been formulated with clear anti-papal intentions be accepted by Catholics? And why was there no reference to the original German knight, "Christian Rosencreutz"? There had been one or two Catholic replies to the Rosicrucians before 1620, but these were generally dimissive. Why then were these sectarians of the Rosy and Golden Cross connected to the circle of poets around the ex-Queen Christina of Sweden in Rome, one of the most infamous Catholic converts ever to have entered the Eternal City? I recalled that one thinker who had figured in the background of her court at Stockholm—the Runic scholar Johannes Bureus (1568–1652)—had written some Rosicrucian pamphlets in 1616 in answer to the original call of the first Rosicrucian text, the *Fama Fraternitatis*. Bureus was a renowned teacher of Queen Christina's father Gustav Adolf and moved in the court of Queen Christina, and yet there were doubts about whether he had any real influence on either one of them.

This picture clarified when I read the final redaction of Bureus' manuscript *Adulruna Rediviva*, given as a gift to Christina in 1643. This unique text combines a Runic theosophy with Gothic history and is of a distinctly mystical kind. A first version was given to Gustav Adolf on his assumption to the Swedish throne in 1611. From now on my research took new form. I saw a continuous development in Bureus' texts from his early Rosicrucian writings to the final production of this remarkable monarchical manual. I noticed that Bureus had begun to draft his system in 1605, and that he had applied John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica* to his construction of a Runic Cross in 1610.[6] These early ideas have a clear Rosicrucian tinge, but I realized that it would be very early for Bureus to know anything

[6] Cf. Nicholas Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy—Between Science and Religion*, Routledge and Kegan Paul; London, 1988.

of the movement that is believed to have first emerged in 1610–1614. I then found a letter sent in 1605 by a German mystic to the Swedish King Carl IX, a letter that displays some signs similar to Rosicrucian symbolism. The evidence in this letter is enough to change the picture of the whole movement.

A series of new leads from Bureus' notes pointed to a new perspective on the prehistory of Rosicrucianism, namely to its origins in Simon Studion's millenarian group *cruce signata* of 1586. Studion offered a reading of Reformation events as part of an elaborate apocalyptic drama and made special reference to the Teutonic Order and to Huguenot politics in France after the treacherous St. Bartholomew massacre in 1572. Studion's system in turn was inspired by an astrochronology produced by the Paracelsian astronomer Helisaeus Roeslin as part of the debate over the new star that in the same year appeared in the heavens. This dispute was generated by the French orientalist Guillaume Postel (1510–1581), a brilliant ex-Jesuit and mystic, who after his condemnation and imprisonment in Paris in 1564 spread a new system of redemption involving the notions animus and anima. Postel held that our souls are saved by an encounter with a feminine principle, the Shekhinah of the *Zohar*, the indwelling of lights. This doctrine he worked out after meeting what he believed was the female Messiah, the learned sister Johanna of Venice, who showed him a new reading of the Apocalypse in 1547. I had already encountered her views on the angelic pope, since my previous research had led me to see that Queen Christina of Sweden programmatically cultivated Postel's prophecies in her attempt to style herself as the convert of the century. The special use of Roeslin's chronology in Bureus' *FaMa e sCanzIa reDUX* (s.l., 1616) even places Postel at the birth of Rosicrucianism.

It should be remembered that Rosicrucianism emerged from obscurity in late eighteenth-century counter-Enlightenment circles whose advocates were fascinated by animal magnetism, somnambulism, and electricity.[7] Nineteenth-century theosophists rediscovered these phenomenal powers and the occult activities of Eliphas Lévi in Paris led to the founding in 1888 of "l'Ordre Cabalistique de la Rose

[7] Franz Anton Mesmer's study *De planetarum influxu*, Vienna, 1766, on magnetism, was taken up by French Rosicrucians and Swedenborgians, by the Portuguese Jew Martinez de Pasqually, founder of the higher masonic Rose-Croix degrees, and by Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin.

Croix" around Stanislas de Guaita, Papus (Gérard Encausse), Paul Sédir (Yves Le Loup), and Joséphin Péladan.[8] Rosicrucian texts were transmitted from Paris and Berlin to London, where by 1888 the Hermetic society of the Golden Dawn established the secret inner circle "Ordo Roseae Rubeae et Aureae Crucis," and sought to develop and refine ancient traditions of ceremonial and angelic magic. As is generally recognized, these groups had a tremendous influence on literary culture. In the summer of 1896, for example, these Parisian esoteric circles of poets, painters, and symbolists incited a crisis-ridden August Strindberg to perfect his experimenting with alchemy and to publish his ideas on the composition of sulphur in Papus' journal *l'Initiation.* Strindberg probably already knew the Swedish Rosicrucian Johannes Bureus' mystical writings, since he was much influenced by the Chief Director of the Royal Library in Stockholm, G. E. Klemming, who published Bureus' diary in 1885. While still in France, at the beginning of his intense Inferno crisis, in July, 1896, Strindberg was overwhelmed by Balzac's occult novel *Séraphita.* With self-tormenting doubts, he gave himself over to reading Swedenborg, the Book of Job, Isaiah 54, and the monastic mystic Thomas à Kempis. Finally, on visit to Klam in Austria, Strindberg stayed in a "rose-red room," and with excitement he noted red ink in the ink-well and rose-coloured cigarette paper. In November, Strindberg revealed to a friend that he himself was meant in Balzac's prophetic passage: "Once more the light will come from the north."[9]

Some Reflections on Previous Rosicrucian Research

In expectation of an imminent outpouring of grace, Rosicrucians see the passage of the ages as part of an activating political belief: The six thousand years projected before the final consummation of bib-

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[8] Péladan's father re-edited Postel's *Clavis.* On the Salon des Rose-Croix and its artistic influence on Eric Satie, Camille Flammarion, and Emma Calvé, see Christian Beaufils, *Josephin Péladan 1858–1918—Essai sur une maladie du lyrisme,* Millon; Grenoble, 1993. Rose-Croix circles also influenced Swedish painters in Paris: Ivan Aguéli and Gösta Sager-Nelson.

[9] *Inferno,* ch. ix. Also Michael Meyer, *Strindberg, A Biography,* (Secker and Warburg; London, 1985) repr. Oxford Lives; Oxford, 1987. July to August 1896, pp. 338, 343, 345, 351. Note for 30 November 1896 in the memoir of Georg Brandes, p. 355. On p. 372, Strindberg's plan for work on a new Cosmology, 4 December, 1896, partly published as *Sylva Sylvarum* and in the Parisian journal *l'Hyperchimie.*

lical history is giving way for the seventh age, the age in which an original blissful harmony will be reconfigured through the near miraculous means of increased communication. While Rosicrucianism remains notoriously difficult to define, one can approach it as a Christian Hermetic theosophy with a specific theory of human restitution, effected through alchemy, angelic magic, Kabbalah, and with a background in apocalyptic speculation on a new order of reformers able to discern certain cues in Arabic astrology. The apocalyptic reckoning involved had spread alongside the Lutheran reformation and was influenced by the medieval vaticinations against papal dominance set out by Joachim of Fiore in the twelvth century.[10]

The Rose Cross is grounded in the imaginative fiction of a mystical fraternity, a chivalry of hermetic theosophers prepared to even the way for a new age of reformation in the sciences and in the occult arts. In reality, there actually were no brothers of the Rosy Cross beyond the fictional realm projected by writers claiming that they belonged to the Rosicrucian order. Most Rosicrucian writers from 1614 to 1620 simply followed the call of the *Fama* (the first Rosicrucian text) by stating that they wanted to come in contact with the brotherhood. The fictional character of this literary outpouring of claims has caused a persistent historical tradition of sceptical criticism aimed at dismissing the beliefs of modern Rosicrucians, Theosophists, and followers of Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophical writings. In various modes, proponents of these modern esoteric schools argue that each epoch will force out self-identified seekers of light, some of whom will perceive themselves as Rosicrucians. Individuals with such experiences will have developed life-instincts that pit them against what in esoteric terms is called "the black priesthood," that is, against the objectively powerful and institutionalized interpreters of the spirit. To take such a perennial hidden plan for humanity as a real structure can be described only as an occult mentality.

In this critical light, the zealous Church historian J. W. Montgomery goes as far as to dispute the Hermetic identity of the original Rosicrucian movement; he argues instead for its overwhelming debt to

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[10] The prolific expert on Joachimism, Marjorie Reeves, doubts that Joachim's texts were read by the Tübingen Rosicrucians, but it remains true that Joachite ideas influenced Julius Sperber and Paul Link, as well as many early Lutheran reformers, such as Andreas Osiander in 1527, see Robin Bruce Barnes, *Prophecy and*

mainstream Lutheran mysticism. To underline this claim, Montgomery even denies that we know who the original author of the *Fama* was and his scepticism has caused much debate.[11]

Recently, several projects have been launched for the publication of documents and letters in the Rosicrucian networks that appeared after 1614. Two modern historical interpretations of the Rosicrucian phenomenon dominate the scene: Frances Yates and her followers argue for its concrete theologico-political significance in an all-European setting, while most continental scholars try to narrow the context to the specific publishing activities of German/Swiss alchemists and Paracelsians. Yates frequently drew on the earlier tradition, but she joined to it convictions from her training in the Warburg School of Renaissance culture. Following threads drawn from an extensive knowledge of European court culture, Yates thus created a new scenario in which Rosicrucian ideals formed political initiatives in Würtemberg and Bohemia in 1617–1620.[12] It is striking that it was on a similar claim that the debate turned in 1939 between Johan Nordström and Nils Ahnlund, viz., whether Paracelsian prophecy influenced the concrete political decision of the Swedes to join in the Thirty Years' war.

The painstaking German scholars Martin Brecht, Richard van Dülmen, and Regine Frey-Jaun have offered precise historical studies of the Tübingen setting in which the first Rosicrucian pamphlets were written.[13] Specialized in the history of printing, Carlos Gilly of Basel has spent more than seven years collecting archival material on Rosicrucianism in Europe for his *catalogue raisonné* of the Rosicrucian movement. In a first publication listing Rosicrucian writings issued between 1610 and 1660, *Cimelia Rhodostaurotica*, Gilly focuses on material from Paracelsian archives in Switzerland, Austria, and southern Germany, adding to these the many Rosicrucian pamphlets deposited

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Gnosis—Apocalypticism in the wake of the Lutheran Reformation, Stanford University Press; Stanford, 1988, pp. 56, 116, 217–218.

[11] John Warwick Montgomery, *Cross and Crucible—Johann Valentin Andreae—Phoenix of the Theologians*, 2 vols. Martinus Nijhoff; The Hague, 1973.

[12] Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, Routledge and Kegan Paul; London, 1973. ARK paperbacks; London, 1986.

[13] Richard van Dülmen, *Die Utopie einer Christlichen Gesellschaft—Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654)*, Frohmann-Holzbog; Stuttgart, 1978. Martin Brecht, "Kritik und Reform der Wissenschaften bei Johann Valentin Andreae" in Friedrich Seck Hrsg., *Wissenschafts-geschichte um Willhelm Schickard*, Symposion der Universität Tübingen im 500. Jahr ihres Bestehens, Tübingen, 1981. Regine Frey-Jaun, *Die Berufung des Türhüters—Zur Chymische Hochzeit Christian Rosencreutz*, Peter Lang; Bern, 1989.

at the *Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica* in Amsterdam, a library holding the most extensive collections of older theosophical literature in Europe.[14] Gilly makes a special point of identifying Rosicrucianism by reference only to those authors who proclaim themselves Rosicrucian or who in other formats use direct citations from the first Rosicrucian pamphlets. This means that no Rosicrucian author can be said to have existed before the spread of the first version of the Rosicrucian *Fama* in about 1609. Use of the term "proto-Rosicrucian" for documents written before this date is discouraged, even concerning Simon Studion's influential prophetical text *Naometria* of 1592, since it could encourage belief in Rosicrucianism as a fully formed medieval idea. Suggestions by Sédir and others that Hermetic Rosicrucianism should be linked to the rose-informed stratified universe of Dante's *Divina Comedia*, mirrored in eighteenth-century masonic grade systems, are consequently not considered relevant to the Tübingen texts.[15]

The *Cimelia Rhodostaurotica* renders obsolete the incomplete but systematic overview of the early Rosicrucian pamphlets that was published in 1942 by Hans Schick.[16] His study was comissioned by Heinrich Himmler and is based on confiscated material from Masonic archives. It cannot be denied that Schick sees the German Rosicrucians as working for a vaguely described "völkisch" reform. On the other hand, Schick handles the influence on Rosicrucianism from Jewish mysticism and Kabbalah rather carefully. He focuses on other themes, on alchemy and on the many pamphlets written by tangential Rosicrucians among the followers of Jacob Boehme. Several fascinating histories of the Rosicrucians stem from late eighteenth-century Freemasonic writers in Germany, such as Ecker von Eckhofen, Schleiss von Löwenfels, and Johan Salomo Semler.[17] Their material is still

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[14] Carlos Gilly, *Cimelia Rhodostaurotica—Die Rosencreutzer im Spiegel der zwischen 1610 und 1660 entstandenen Handschrifte und Drucke*, In de Pelikaan; Amsterdam, 1995. Also his *Johan Valentin Andreae 1586–1986—Die Manifeste der Rosenkreuzerbruderschaft*, Katalog einer Ausstellung in der Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica. In de Pelikaan; Amsterdam, 1986.

[15] Paul Sédir and René Guenon argue that the Rose symbolism of Dante is of Sufi origin and that Dante delivers essentially the same message as that of the Rosicrucians. Doubts are raised by Umberto Eco (1991) and also in this book, but not because the argument would depend on misreadings of Dante's text.

[16] Hans Schick, *Das Ältere Rosenkreuzertum—ein Beitrag zur enststehungsgeschichte der Freimaurerei*, Nordland; Berlin, 1942.

[17] J. S. Semler, *Unpartheyischen Sammlungen für die Geschichte der Rosencreutzer*, 4 vols. Leipzig, 1785–86. Semler also wrote detailed commentaries on Joachim di Fiore. H. H. Ecker von Eckhofen, *Der Rosencreutzer in seiner Blösse*, Amsterdam, 1781.

of use, although in their interpretations they are often concerned with extending the mystical aspects of the Masonic tradition.

In France, a first critical reception of Rosicrucianism took place after the posting of anonymous broadsheets on the Pont Neuf in Paris in 1623. Stirred by this offense, Catholic responses were written with the condemnation of them as a "damnable paction faite entre le Diable et les pretendus invisibles." In a widely read document of the same year, Gabriel Naudé warns that the Rosicrucians are German millenarians who use material from various medieval and renaissance prophets. Then, in 1624, authorities in the Netherlands censured a Dutch Rosicrucian pamphlet spread in and around Leiden and in 1626 a pornographic painter by name Torrentius, or Jan Symonsz van der Beek, was tried and tortured for Rosicrucianism.[18] Later, with the influence of occultism in nineteenth-century Paris, the esoteric writer Paul Sédir made elaborate extensions of the Rosicrucian doctrine by using a growing corpus of scholarly material concerning neo-Platonic magic and kabbalist angelogy.[19] Recent French contributers have tried to carry on the tradition within a firmer historical context, giving a renewed emphasis on Rosicrucian roots in alchemy and in Lutheran mysticism. Roland Edighoffer has found much to correct and expand upon in the writings of Paul Arnold, the author who first clarified the influence on the movement from prophetic themes formulated by Tomaso Campanella. Both authors draw attention to several distinct differences between Rosicrucian thought and the Masonic tradition.[20]

In another recent line of research, Umberto Eco analyses the Rosicrucian movement as a literary phenomenon, in particular in relation to the essay "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius" by Juan Luis Borges, the Argentinian novelist.[21] Eco describes the function of the fictional

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Eckhofen attempted to expose the secretive Rosicrucian higher-degree system, but received swift criticism from Schleiss von Löwenfelss, *Der in Lichte der Wahrheit Strahlender Rosencreutzer*, Frankfurt, 1782.

[18] Gabriel Naudé, *Instruction à la France sur l'histoire des fréres de la Roze-Croix*, Paris, 1623. Govaert Snoek, *De Rozenkruisers in Nederland—Voornamelijk in de eerste helft van de 17e eeuw. Een inventarisatie*, Doctorat arb., Leiden, 1989; privately printed edition, 1991.

[19] Paul Sédir, *Histoire et doctrines des Rose-Croix*, Bibl. des amitiés de spiritualité; Rouen, 1932. Italian transl. Dioscuri; Genova, 1988.

[20] Roland Edighoffer, *Le Rose-Croix et société idéale de J. V. Andreae*, Arma Artis; Neully-sur-Seine, 1986. Idem, "Le Lion de Septentrion" *Etudes Germaniques*, 1967. Paul Arnold, *Histoire des Rosecroix et les Origines de la Franc Maconnerie*, Mercure de France; Paris, 1955 (2nd ed. with preface by Umberto Eco, Paris, 1990).

[21] Umberto Eco, preface in Paul Arnold (1990), pp. 7–19.

claims of various authors that they are brothers, too, as a spiritual metaphor. He points out that some writers take the fiction of the fraternity to indicate that there is a superior spiritual reality, but other writers try to demolish this reality by pointing to the lack of documentation for its existence. While many have tried to identify a physical place where the Rosicrucians have taken residence (Tübingen, Antilia, Nova Atlantis, San José), sceptics make much of the fact that the founding documents of the Rosicrucians are apocryphal or pseudo-epigraphical. The Rosicrucian phenomenon was little more than a literary conflict where the intentions of the original texts soon were displaced and dissipated by all sorts of other opinions on the approaching new age. Replies to the *Fama*, therefore, are best approached by mapping their textual resonances and sources, as any reality behind these fictions will turn out to be comparatively trivial. Eco also has a decided opinion on Hermetic semiosis. He maintains that Hermetic discourse opens for an in principle unlimited field of interpretation, one term standing proxy for countless others in a never ending chain of signification, with the intended object always passing out of sight, ensuring that an Hermetic secret exposed is not merely valueless, but necessarily empty.[22]

This insight (if it is an insight) was on the other hand not available to the historical hermeticists. In the early theosophist Johannes Bureus, for example, we find an early Rosicrucian writer who both believed in the fraternity as a superior spiritual reality and who tried to relocate and relive it in the Scandinavian peninsula. Eco's view of Hermetic semiosis may even be false at its core; it could well be that there is a definite alchemical process represented by the variety of terms in Hermetic language, and there could well be a singular message in the *Fama* (an intentio operis) that an informed (model) reader eventually will understand.

In an historical essay written some years before his theoretical statements on Hermetic semiosis, Eco comments on the wide influence in Northern Europe of Heinrich Khunrath's theosophical summation *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aethernae* (Frankfurt, 1595). It has long been suspected that Khunrath's theosophy dwelled in the immediate background to the Rosicrucian fiction. Eco shows that the Hanau edition of 1609 expanded on Khunrath's earlier, even rarer, version

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[22] Umberto Eco, "Aspects of Hermetic Semiosis", *The Limits of Interpretation*, Bloomington, Indiana, 1990. Orig. ed., Milan, 1990.

of the text, but that four square illustrations with apparent satirical content now had been added. Ironically, Eco notes an exlibris pasted to many extant copies: a bespectabled owl with the cryptic text, "neither eye-glasses nor lightening torches will help."[23] In the novel *Foucault's Pendulum*, Eco goes further and tries to connect the French kabbalist Guillaume Postel to both the German Rosicrucians and to Francis Bacon.[24] This aspect of his novel is entirely conjectural, however, and it is doubtful whether his many-layered text proves relevant to the correct unfolding of the Rosicrucian message. While Eco creates a plot around people who take it all very seriously, *Foucault's pendulum* is nevertheless a parody on the Rosicrucian movement as a whole. No such satirical intention can be found in the thousand page epistolary tale recently offered in Walter Umminger's *Das Winterkönigreich* (Stuttgart, 1994), a shrewd and melancholy novel that consummately conveys the essential tragedy of the Rosicrucian reformers in Bohemia.[25]

The Scandinavian Debate on Paracelsian Lion Prophecies

The large following of the call of the *Fama*, with replies being written from a number of regions in Europe, shows that writers were prepared by their readings in occult literature. The Rosicrucian manifestos largely depend on the Paracelsian hopes for a "chemical revolution," a subversive ideology that rapidly spread in Germany and in Huguenot France. The voluminous writings of the Swiss physician Theophrastus Paracelsus von Hohenheim (1493–1547) had given a strongly felt identity to a new group of popular practitioners in the fields of alchemy, magic, medicine, and prophecy. "Indeed," as Hugh Trevor-Roper writes, "without the Paracelsian movement the whole Rosicrucian idea—the form of its message and the extraordinary echo of that little voice—is unintelligble."[26] In his philosophy,

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[23] Umberto Eco, "Lo strano caso della Hanau 1609". *L'Esopo* 40, 1988. French edition: *L'Enigme de Hanau 1609*, Bailly; Paris, 1990. Eco notes (with Cantor) that the first edition of the *Confessio* indirectly dimisses Khunrath's theosophy, but notes that this statement is deleted in all later editions.

[24] Umberto Eco, *Foucault's Pendulum*, Milano, 1988, ch. 74.

[25] Walter Umminger, *Das Winterkönigreich*, Klett-Cotta; Stuttgart, 1994.

[26] Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Paracelsian Movement", *Renaissance Essays*, Secker and Warburg; London, 1985.

Paracelsus assumed Hermetic correspondences between macrocosmic forces and microcosmic organisms, and he saw influences from the seven planets as reaching into specific plants as well as into seven specific centres of the human body, in the process setting them each into predetermined resonance.

Although there is no lack of Paracelsian material in Swedish archives, the Rosicrucian influence in seventeenth century Sweden has been given a minimal interpretation. There are specific uniquely Swedish reasons for this, apart from a shared displeasure with contemporary mystics such as Rudolf Steiner. In 1932, in a highly suggestive speech—"The Lion of the North"—Johan Nordström argued that Paracelsian prophecy was a crucial political factor in preparing the Swedes for the Thirty Years' War. In 1939, however, the political historian Nils Ahnlund staunchly denied that this was true. Ahnlund maintained that in Sweden the Paracelsian prophecies were distributed among only a handful of visionaries, individuals who had no (or negligent) influence on decisions taken either in the council of war, in the state, or at court. The use of the Lion prophecy to prepare for the acceptance of Gustaf Adolf in northern Germany came only during a very late phase, in 1630–1631, and it was then recognized as a mere instrument of propaganda. Ahnlund pointed out that the idea of the Northern Lion first was applied in Denmark in 1625, and he concluded that it has not been shown that it had any influence at all among politicians in Sweden, let alone with the King. Ahnlund pointed to his own interpretation of 1918 when he saw "der Löwe aus der Mitternacht" as a frightening portent spreading in the obscurantist circles of Count Albrecht von Wallenstein.[27]

It appears that Johan Nordström's Paracelsian scenario developed out of his early interest in the Livonian playwright Fredrik Menius, who wrote under the Hermetic pseudonym Salomon Majus. In 1921, Nordström found evidence that Menius was part of an English theatre company that toured in and around Danzig up until 1621 and that Menius in this setting published the first German adaption of Shakespeare's tragedy of blood-stained revenge, *Titus Andronicus*. Subsequent writings show Menius deeply concerned with Hermeticism

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[27] Johan Nordström, "Lejonet från Norden" *De Yverbornes Ö*, Rudbecksstudier; Uppsala, 1934. Nils Ahnlund, "Der Löwe aus der Mitternacht", *Storhetstidens gryning*, Stockholm, 1918, idem, "Gustav Adolf, lejonprofetian och astrologin" *Historisk Tidskrift*, 1939, pp. 34–51.

and Paracelsist prophecy. Nordström could not, however, conclusively prove that Menius had contacts with any of the other known Paracelsians in Livonia, such as the playwrights Johan Arnold Messenius and Jöran Eckhardt.[28] At about this time, Nordström came in contact with Will-Erich Peuckert, author of *Das Rosenkreutz* (1924–25), a tremendous source of original archival material. In spite of its importance, the study, like all Peuckert's writings, suffers from a very involved and disconnected style. In a second publication, *Pansophie* (1936), Peuckert pays much tribute to Nordström's 1924 dissertation on the Baroque poet and Hermetic philosopher Georg Stiernhielm and promises a new and better synthesis of the material.[29]

Nordström published his essay on the Paracelsian Lion in 1934 and added an extensive bibliography of pamphlets published on this theme. In 1936, however, Nordström was approached by a group of wealthy Swedish right-wing nationalists, who wanted his journal *Lychnos* to be a forum for their racist and neo-Gothic delusions. From then on, Nordström more or less discontinued publication of his research into these themes.[30] Instead, he recommended to his student Sten Lindroth that he write a thesis on the influence of Paracelsism in Sweden. A fascinating aspect of the emblem of the Lion of the North is its power to work as a multi-layered theme of resistance, liberation, and salvation. In its early phase the emblem had worked as a figure of united strength rooted in folk psychology and popular messianism, the very image of *Der güldene Löw in blauen Felt*, a title used for pamphlets at Erfurt, 1631. Publishing in 1943, Lindroth more or less passes by these implications by focusing on the medical aspects of the Paracelsian movement and on the network of correspondence. The year before, in 1942, another of Nordström's students, Henrik Sandblad, completed a thesis in which he charts

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[28] Johan Nordström, "The editor of 'Englische Comödien und Tragödien' Discovered" paper for *Notes and Queries* left in Nordström's papers. Box "Stiernhielm", Uppsala UB. Idem. "Fredrik Menius—en äventyrlig Dorpatprofessor och hans glömda insats i det engelska komediantdramats historia" *Samlaren*, 1921.

[29] Cf. Will-Erich Peuckert, *Das Rosenkreutz*, Jena, 1924, 2nd ed. Berlin, 1973. Idem, *Pansophie*, Berlin, 1956.

[30] Cf. Nordström's correspondence of November, 1934, with Gustaf Carlberg and his son Carl Enfrid Carlberg, the founder of the fascist society *Manhem*, MS. G 194 Uppsala UB. Cf. Tore Frängsmyr, "Johan Nordström och Lärdomshistoriens etablering" *Lychnos*, 1983, pp. 131ff. See also Nordström's study "Goter och Spanjorer II" published posthumously in *Lychnos*, 1979.

the influence of sixteenth-century millenarians in Sweden, but his study ends just before the advent of the Rosicrucian pamphlets.[31]

John Dee and Poetic Rosicrucianism in Britain and France

The most difficult aspect of the Rosicrucian theme is probably its tacit sexual dimension. In one of its meanings the Rose represents a feminine sexual principle, but as used by the fraternity and in the myth of Christian Rosencreutz it is combined with an allusion to the "name-of-the-father", the psychoanalytical term for the Oedipal Law. The Oedipal conflict (signalled by the intense Rosicrucian hatred of the Pope) is solved by the myth of the brotherhood. In the name of the Rose, a normally forbidden passionate mysticism among men is transmitted from fathers to sons in a process of spiritual initiation. Combined with the Cross, the feminine Rose is transformed into its masculine counterpart.[32] This Oedipal solution seems to have created strong barriers for academically trained historians to overcome. There is a triple danger of being absorbed by irrational thinking, of having the ideal of quietist passivity foisted on to one, and of having to face intimate forms of androphilism with the additional prospect of these elements turning into an occult fascism. No wonder, then, that many historians are sceptical concerning events connected to the Rose Cross. Modern methodologists tend to see the Hermetic movement as a cul-de-sac of failed aspirations and therefore avoid studying its ideas.

By drawing critically upon Golden Dawn traditions, Arthur Edward Waite did much to rescue the historical Rosicrucians from neglect in the English speaking world, as in his profound second study of the Fratres RC of 1927 he limited himself to original theosophical currents and set the movement in a larger context of Hermetic ideas.[33]

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[31] Sten Lindroth, *Paracelsimen i Sverige intill 1600-talets mitt*, Lychnos bibliotek; Uppsala, 1943. Henrik Sandblad, *De eskatologiska föreställningarna i Sverige under reformation och motreformation*, Lychnos bibliotek; Uppsala, 1942. Also his "Prognostica om Johan III, Sigismund and Karl IX" *Lychnos*, 1942.

[32] Cf. Teresa de Lauretis, "The Enigma of the Solution. The Name of the Rose as Post-Modern Drama," translated into German in Andreas Huyssen and Klaus R. Scherpe eds., *Postmoderne—Zeichen einer kulturellen Wandels*, Rowohlt; Hamburg, 1986.

[33] Waite corresponded with Cantor, but rejected his ideas on Khunrath and Dee, see Arthur Edward Waite, *The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross*, Rider; London, 1924.

In his translations of documents Waite was often inventive and cavalier, but he preserved much of their original spiritual language.

Building on Arnold and Waite (but apparently only skimming Peuckert), Frances Yates set the Rosicrucian pamphlets in a new political context for the Thirty Years' War by suggesting that much of their content were politicly motivated. Her argument instantly attracted severe criticism. Brian Vickers, in particular, argues that Yates says a great deal on little or no evidence, and that most historians should regard her claims as far too vague and fluid. Vickers points out that Rosicrucianism was no more than a peripheral phenomenon on "the bare fringe of European thought," and in particular he questions "the influence of John Dee on Heinrich Khunrath and on the whole movement." He concludes that it has not been shown that Rosicrucian culture was important in the emergence of modern science.[34]

Frances Yates was critizied for flirting with a type of source-material that today is held in utter disrepute among literary critics, namely the reinterpretations of Rosicrucianism as an existing Hermetic society formed by a select élite in Jacobean England. In 1662, as Waite had pointed out, the Rosicrucian message spread to wider circles through John Heydon's influential adaption of Bacon's *New Atlantis, a work unfinished*, the utopian tale of a journey at sea to the island of Ben Salem, a perfect community supervised by the cross-adorned and Hebrew speaking Salomona. Heydon gave several Rosicrucian emendations to Bacon's text and through the thus crafted tie, the Rose Cross in the nineteenth century became associated with clandestine Bacon-was-Shakespeare-research and other quaint speculations.[35] The sheer difficulty of proving this imaginary identity attracted much ingenuity. For example, after a period of intense mental distress, Georg Cantor, the founder of transfinite set theory

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This work fully revises Waite's earlier text *The Real History of the Rosicrucians*, London, 1887.

[34] Brian Vickers, "Frances Yates and the Writing of History" *Journal of Modern History*, June 1975, pp. 287–316. Vickers relies on Montgomery's view of J. V. Andreae as a non-Rosicrucian. Negative reviews were also offered by the expert on John Dee, C. H. Josten, and by Charles Webster: Yates' evidence is "vague or non-existent," "circumstantial and speculative."

[35] See the inventive tracings of poetic allusions in W. F. C. Wigston, *Bacon, Shakespeare and the Rosicrucians*, London, 1888; *Bacon, poet, prophet, philosopher versus Phantom Captain Shakespeare, the Rosicrucian mask*, London, 1891. Cf. Paul Arnold (1990), pp. 333ff.

at Halle, did research the subject and in 1886 declared that he had discovered a dramatic fact about the first Saxon King of England, a fact that he believed would lead to an international crisis. Then, in the first issue of the British journal *Baconiana* (1896), Cantor argued (correctly) that the "amphitheatralische Histrion und Comediant" of whom the *Confessio* warns was Heinrich Khunrath. Cantor grounded this view in his verisimilar, but false belief that the Rosicrucian *Confessio* was written by John Dee (1527–1608), the Elizabethan magus.[36] Cantor published a last remark in 1900 declaring that he had found an entirely satisfying conclusion: both Shakespeare and Bacon were merely temporary masks of a far superior force, the German neo-Latin poet Jacob Balde, S.J., who Cantor falsely claimed died at an age of 108 years.[37]

Yates' scenario also appears to have been influenced by her reading of the dramatist Ben Jonson, an author who scorned the influence of John Dee on the Elizabethan court. In 1624, Jonson satirized the Rosicrucians in a masque presented to King James I as *Fortunate Isles and their Union.* In spite of its tone, the text is remarkably acute, for Jonson in 1619 had met Joachim Morsius, one of the most knowledgable of German Rosicrucians outside of Tübingen, and in whose album Jonson set his name. Jonson describes the moving castle of Julianus de Campis, the Rosicrucian pseudonym of the Dutch-born engineer Cornelius Drebbel, who displayed many brilliant mechanical inventions in the courts of James I and Prince Henry in 1605–1611. In the masque, Jophiel, an airy spirit governing Jupiter, promises Merefool, a melancholic student, that the location of the "castle Rosie-Cross" is easy to reveal and that Merefool can become their "Keeper of the Keys," that is,

> Of the whole *kaball*, with the Seales
> you shall be principall Secretarie to the Starres,
> know all their *signatures* and combinations,
> The divine rods and consecrated roots . . .
> Merefool: But How? Jophiel: Why, by his skill of which he
> has left you the inheritance. Here in a Pot: this nipple

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[36] See Joseph Warren Dauben, *Georg Cantor—His Mathematics and Philosophy of the Infinite*, Harvard University Press; Cambridge, Mass., 1979.

[37] G. Cantor, "Shaxpeareologie und Baconianismus" *Berliner Magazin für Litteratur* 69 (1900), 196–203. In letters to the Vatican, Cantor argued that his proof for the non-existence of a "genus supremum" governing all of infinity ultimately would replace the mistakes of St. Thomas philosophy. See J. W. Dauben, "Georg Cantor and Pope Leo XIII" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 38 (1977), 85–108.

gully pot of tincture, high rose tincture.
There's your Order. (He gives him a rose)
You will have your collar sent you, ere't be long.

Ben Jonson mocks the Rosicrucian order as a "company of players", which led Frances Yates to state her underlying hypothesis: "Is he hinting at a movement, spreading through actors and the stage, and linking England and Germany?" The theme had been in vogue among historians of early modern theatre; it is symptomatic that Nordström's influence led Gustav Fredén to investigate Menius' English inspired stage work, a study published in 1939.[38]

Much of Yates' commentary in the margins of Shakespeare is by contrast dismissed today as a narrowly literalistic reading stemming from, in Jonathan Goldberg's words, her sheer "mystical belief that all of Renaissance history was building to some grand love feast in the first decades of the seventeenth century."[39] Yates' essentialist reading of late Renaissance material in Britain, France, and Germany, her constant effort to link events in a single pattern, would be steadily undermined by its own unfruitfulness, making it compelling that any study of Rosicrucianism must refocus itself on issues of cultural anthropology, on the involved trompe l'oeil artifice, on writing strategies, and pictorial imagination.[40]

An important theme of the present study is, however, to persist in seeking to identify those millenarian thinkers who held to the described mystical belief. I argue that the proclaimed universality of the Rosicrucian message was conditioned by the fierce religious and dynastic struggles in France and Britain; that the turns of fate for the Catholic and Protestant high nobility in these countries, and their alignment with changing political factions, had quite immediate repurcussions in the smaller German principalities.

In certain limited respects, I consider the extremely controversial Prieuré-documents for clues to what political scenario the Rosicrucian

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[38] Frances Yates, *Shakespeare's Last Plays: A New Approach*, Routledge and Kegan Paul; London, 1975, pp. 121ff. Gustav Fredén, *Friedrich Menius und das Repertoire der Englischen Komödianten in Deutschland*, Stockholm, 1939.

[39] Goldberg exemplifies with Yates' reading of *Cymbeline*; that the three royal children would be James's children and that Leonatus Posthumus would be Fredrick of Würtemberg. See Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature*, Johns Hopkins University Press; Baltimore, 1991, p. 287n.

[40] Research along these lines on Dee's relations to Baldisar Battanyi is, however, undertaken by György E. Szönyi of the Attila Josef University in Szeged, Hungary. See his "Dee and Central Europe", *Hungarian Studies of English* XII.

texts were set to address.[41] According to these documents, in all probability fabricated by some learned post-war Parisians, Prieuré de Sion would be a secret society whose mission was to secure the French throne for the descendents of the Merovingian Kings, especially of Dagobert II, who was murdered by a deputy of his major domus on 23 December, 673, at Stenay. This royal line descended through the duchy of Lorraine to Godefried of Bouillon, crowned King of Jerusalem on the first crusade. It is alleged that an Ordre de Notre Dame de Sion was founded for dynastic behind-the-scenes control in 1090. This Augustinian controlled organization became ivolved in the founding of the Order of the Temple in 1118, the order of crusaders whose alleged cult of esoteric wisdom plays significant roles in most Masonic legends. What defies belief, however, is that in 1188 the Prieuré was to have adopted the gnostic inspired name l'Ordre de Rose-Croix Veritas. Later, by 1570, the Prieuré de Sion would be controlled by the arch-Catholic Guise-Lorraine families, the families that in 1580 saw to the founding of the Catholic Holy League in Nancy, a political arm of the Counter-Reformation. If the legend is to square with the Rosicrucian theme of universal Hermetic reform, these families must have changed tactics after the murder of Henri de Guise and his brother Charles III de Lorraine as the enemies of France at the Parliament of Blois on 23 December, 1588. There is no doubt, however, that the influential British Rosicrucian Robert Fludd (1574–1637), respected medical advisor to James I and Charles Stuart, began his career as neo-Platonic physician by travelling abroad in 1596. In Paris in 1601, Fludd met Le Sieur Bourdalone, secretary to Charles III de Lorraine; the topic of discussion centered on musical theory. Fludd then went to Lyons and Avignon to write on geomancy, motion, and astrology. He was summoned to Marseille in 1602 to become mathematics tutor in the military arts to the sons of Henri de Guise, the young dukes Francois Alexandre de Lorraine, Chevalier de Guise, and Charles de Lorraine. After this engagements with Catholic noblesse, Fludd returned to England. In 1606, as his father notes, Fludd "went to have conference with certain physicians, Italian and French his acquaintances and good friends in his travels abroad touching secrets and other things concerning that study. . . ."[42]

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[41] Henry Lincoln, Michael Baigent, Richard Leigh, *The Holy Grail and the Holy Blood*, Jonathan Cape; London, 1982, Dell Paperbacks.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 111–125, 426. The letter is quoted after William Huffman, *Robert*

Here, then, is a compound of facts and intimations giving by hand that masters of a hidden stream of initiation emerged out of France in the medieval period, and then, through Fludd, came to influence important British Rosicrucians. Rosicrucianism as a path of assimilation to the feminine principle would have been transmitted through a living tradition of French masters, rather than being constituted by a unique event of publication in the German Rhineland at the eclipse of the Reformation.

My taking this admittedly dubious scenario into account in this book means that certain facts pertaining to France and to the House of Lorraine are pointed out while I investigate the Rosicrucian framework. It is thus to be observed that Jonson's satirical masque is transformed into an anti-masque where Proteus and Saron let up their voices in a solemn hymn:

> Then, Up with their notes, thus Raise the Prince of Men.
> And sing the present Prophecie that goes of joyning the
> bright *Lillie* and the *Rose*...

The emblematic union of the bright Lily and the Rose sheds fragrance from the late medieval dynastic rivalry between England and France. In 1624, the emblem could still evoke a political and mystical joining of France (the Lily) with Tudor politics (the Rose), befitting the prospective marriage of Charles I Stuart and Henriette Marie of France, the princess escorted to England by the young Duke of Chevreuse, Claude de Lorraine. Chevreuse, dressed in black velvet with a rose in diamonds, had been given the singular honor of being the stand-in for the British King in the magnificent marriage ceremony held in the previous month in the Notre Dame de Paris. Or rather, the ceremony was held on a scaffold outside of the Dome because Charles Stuart was a Protestant.[43] Two generations before, Marie de Guise had married James V of Scotland and thus the dynastic interests of Stuart and Lorraine intertwined; now it was time to find apeacement with Henry of Navarre. With Jonson, then, the airy-spirit Jophiel holds out the hope that,

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Fludd—Essential readings, The Aquarian Press, 1992, p. 19. Huffman errs in identifying the two brothers; they cannot have been the sons of Charles III (d. 1608), whose sons, Charles IV and Nicolas Francoise were born in 1604 and 1609, respectively.

[43] Louis Battifol, *La Comtesse de Chevreuse*, Paris, 1913, pp. 45–47. Henriette Marie was dressed in a silver grey dress with fleurs de lis, while Lorraine's black livery was adorned by "roses des diamants".

> That point of Revolution being come when all the Fortunate Islands should be joyned, *Macaria*, one, and thought a Principall. That hitherto hath floated, as uncertaine. Where she should fix her blessings, is tonight instructed to adhere to your *Brittania*. That where the happie spirits live hereafter. Might be no question made, by the most curious, since the Macarii come to do you homage . . .

The island of Macaria is here an emblem of France, but the image turns up in many guises in British Renaissance poetry. British sonnets of the Elizabethan epoch often resonate with Pietro Bembo's fifteenth century myth of the Queen of the Fortunate isles, the Sovereign enchantress. A remark in W. F. C. Wigston's Baconian studies indicates that the theme also has a medieval root. Wigston observes that Ben Jonson in the said passage adapts "Lampertus Floridus Mss. commentary on Plato's Gorgias," by describing the Olympiodoms or the Island of the Blessed. That is, Wigston refers to the Platonic myth of the blessed islands in the west to which only the just souls are admitted after death (Gorgias, 523b–526a). That a Platonic model exists for *Fortunate Isles* is not surprising and would not raise much concern even if one found an elaboration of it in a medieval chronicle, as in Lampertus' *Liber Floridus* of 1120. Neither would I be very concerned, if I did not know that "Lampertus Floridus" was a pseudonym used by Helisaeus Roeslin, a native of Saarbrücken in Elsass/Alsace and who was to influence many of the Rosicrucian writers. From 1588 until his death in 1616, Roeslin circulated several apocalyptic manuscripts in this name. These Roeslin-as-Floridus manuscripts were listed in 1638 by the Rosicrucian author Karl Wideman at Augsburg, but there is no mention of any Floridus manuscript on Plato's Gorgias. Indeed, nothing indicates that Wigston was aware of Roeslin's pseudonym; instead, he is likely to be referring to the original medieval chronicle, also a very obscure source. *Liber Floridus* is an encyclopedic compilation written in Flanders during the Anglo/Norman era by Lampertus de St. Omer, a subject of Robert le Frison, leading Flandrian knight on the first Crusade and father-in-law to Thierry d'Alsace, who served Godfried of Bouillon in Jerusalem. Lampertus does collect a passage on the fortunate isles from the well-known *Etymologia* of Isidore of Seville, but the Pindaric word "Olympiodoms" is not used. Yet, *Liber Floridus* remains relevant to Rosicrucian authors, for they rely on the apocalyptic schemes of Helisaeus Roeslin, who knew the manuscript. Actually, the most

unusual move in Lampertus' compilation is not his reference to the fortunate isles, but his focus on the royal genealogy of the Franks, whose origins he places in Scandinavia, as sons of Japheth. As I show in detail, this document was received as part of the French Renaissance expansionist dream of a revived non-Roman Celtic empire populated by Japhetians. I refer the reader to Appendix III for further details about this intriguing manuscript.[44]

Rose Cross Over the Baltic—Northern Perspectives

The greater part of this book contains my examination of the first flowering of Rosicrucianism along the Baltic coastal shores, and in some respects also of the Nordic roots of Enlightenment culture. I study the effects of Rosicrucian ideas from a specifically northern perspective by tracing how the kabbalist and Hermetic ideas introduced by Johannes Bureus in Sweden were absorbed into a new and long-enduring Hebrew-Christian emphasis on human regeneration through Divine influx, as in Swedenborgianism. While these ideas did not entirely lose influence among important eighteenth century thinkers, the precise path of their transmission in Scandinavia during the latter part of the seventeenth century has never been delineated. In no small part this is because Hermetic ideas developed among thinkers with theosophic inclinations and in writings that often have been regarded as more or less incomprehensible. The trend of kabbalistic theosophy—its growth and dissolution—is also difficult to discern, particularly since it developed as a subterranean ideology that was in periodic decline and reversal. That being said, the first flowering of the Rosicrucian movement after 1614 had effects on readers involved in specific political events and decisions that eventually unleashed the destructive forces of the Thirty Years' War, events of wide historical importance. By bringing new evidence to light, the archival material from the coastal shores of the Baltic opens up research into the specific contexts of many other early Rosicrucian centres in Central and Northern Europe.

In the five chapters of this book, the Rosicrucian movement is

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[44] W. F. C. Wigston (1891), p. 379. Cf. *Patrologia Cursus Completus. Series latine.* t. 163, Migne ed., Paris, 1864. Cf. J. W. Bennett, "Britain among the Fortunate Isles", *Studies in Philology* 53 (1956), pp. 114–141.

examined as it was situated in the seventeenth-century Baltic world. Rosicrucian texts were few, but are also easier to track than in more complex literary cultures. As royal archivist, Johannes Bureus befriended state officials, knew of the plans in the foreign office, and was admitted to the King's Chambers. At the same time, the international diplomacy for winning support of Sweden for various alliances was as intense as in the Germanies. In his diary, Bureus records certain hitherto unknown details of international maneuvers with new clarity. My ambition in this book is to contribute to the overall picture of Rosicrucianism as a political tool in the evangelical cause by suggesting a plausible scenario for the publication of Rosicrucian texts in the Baltic.

To show the evolution of the Hermetic trend in the realm of Swedish influence, I focus on Baltic Rosicrucians and Baltic Pythagoreans, a few thinkers who represent a continuity of efforts around the Baltic sea to carve out a new discourse on the soul and its salvation. The evidence is fragmentary and incomplete, but the fragments nevertheless combine into an influential undercurrent.

In Chapter One, I describe the central aspects of Johannes Bureus' Hermetic thinking and trace their origins to kabbalist forms of hermeneutics on particular biblical passages, especially the Book of Ezekiel and the apocryphal fourth Book of Ezra. In Chapter Two, the background to the first Rosicrucian texts is described in more detail, with reference to its problematic origins in Tübingen and Kassel. In Chapter Three, the use of Rosicrucian texts to underpin the myth of the Lion of the North is discussed in the context of a Rosicrucian network that appears to have had the character of a diplomatic pressure-group.

In his Rosicrucian writings, Bureus highlights the obliquely stated affinities among the early Rosicrucians to the doctrine of a universal human restitution set out in the mid-sixteenth century by the French prophet Guillaume Postel. In chapter four, through a series of new links, I tie the Rose Cross to Postellian speculation, a connection that recently has been hinted at by Marion Leathers Kuntz and Nicholas Clulee but has been forcefully rejected by the great Postellian scholar Francois Secret.[45]

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[45] Marion Leathers Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel—Prophet of the Restitution of All Things—His Life and Thought*, Martinus Nijhoff; The Hague, 1981, pp. 173–177. Francois Secret, critical review of Kuntz (1981), *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, 1982, pp. 212–217.

In Chapter Five, I address the Pythagorean aspects of the Copernican Revolution as reflected in the Rosicrucian movement. The astrochronology of Helisaeus Roeslin again emerges, but now to shed light on Hermetic aspects in the cosmological thought of Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler. There was a definite reception of Copernican ideas by a Rosicrucian and astronomical circle at Danzig, a circle that also included the Livonian Pansophist from Dorpat, Salomon Majus or Fredrik Menius.

A little-considered mathematical manual published by the Rosicrucian progenitor Johannes Valentin Andreae at Tübingen in 1614—a copy of which I have located in Sweden—provides a new perspective on Andreae's scientific intentions and more closely associates him with the Swedes. There are also similarities between Rosicrucian texts and the dreams of René Descartes as he recorded them at Ulm in 1619. The fascinating discovery that Rosicrucian mathematics influenced Descartes' early algebraic discoveries helps explain why Rosicrucianism was fully recognized as a valuable emblem among practitioners of Hermetic mathematics and mathematical magic.

In the course of this book, some more general questions concerning Hermeticism as a movement of ideas in Scandinavia and the Baltic region are raised. What was the Orthodox response to the Rosicrucian claims to possess esoteric insight? How did Rosicrucianism change when it passed from being an activist radicalism to becoming a monarchical restorationism? How were the original Rosicrucian ideas extended and reinterpreted as they passed to new generations of Rosicrucian readers? How did Rosicrucian thought evolve to become a cultural value of such concern that it could influence the course of diplomacy in central Europe and the Baltic region? I answer some but not all of these questions.

Chronological Table: Dates for Reconstructing the Rosicrucian Influence

1572 A supernova can be seen for sixteen months in Cassiopeia

St. Bartholomew Massacres on Huguenot leaders invited to honor the marriage in Paris of Henry of Navarre and Margerete of Valois

1573 Tycho Brahe and Guillaume Postel write on the new star

Theodore Beza preaches on the new star as marking a new age

1577 Tycho Brahe's Comet

1578 Helisaeus Roeslin's *Nova Theoria Meteoron*

1580 Helisaeus Roeslin's manuscript *Speculum Mundi* (1579) given to John III of Sweden and his brother Carl

The Holy League gathers in Nancy led by the arch-Catholic brothers Henry de Guise and Charles of Lorraine

1586 Studion's *Cruce Signati* said to have met at Lüneburg

Phillip Sidney killed at Zutphen while English/German troops attack Catholic strongholds in the Netherlands

1588 Helisaeus Roeslin's report on three fish outside Norway

1590 James VI of Scotland marries Anne of Denmark

1592 Simon Studion begins his *Naometria*

Johannes Bureus begins to decipher the Runes

1595 First version of Heinrich Khunrath's *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aethernae*

1596 Comet, "die Mitternächtige", seen only in the north

Raphael Eglinus flees Basel for Hessen-Kassel

1598 Helisaeus Roeslin's *De opere Dei creationis*

1599 Protestant meeting at Heidelberg arranged by Johan Cassimir of the Palatinate

1602 Comet in the Swan

1603 First version of J. V. Andreae's *The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz*

December: Conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in the fiery trigon, followed by a nova in Serpentario

Quercetanus publishes an answer to Roeslin's *Speculum*

1604 Bureus translates *A Warning from one of the Pope's Secretaries* bidding for a Protestant union

Francis Bacon's *Valerio Terminus' Interpretation of Nature*

Roeslin's *Speculum Mundi* printed by pirates

1605 Helisaeus Roeslin and Johannes Kepler write on the new star

Lotich's letter to Carl IX on die Löwe aus der Mitternacht

First version of Bureus' *Adulruna*

1606 Double Comet

Johannes Kepler denounces Helisaeus Roeslin's prophecies

1609 Johan Arndt's commentary on four figures in Khunrath

Reprint of the *Amphitheatrum* with four new images at Hanau

Adam Haselmayer's manuscript *Novum Lumen Physico-Chemicum*

1610 Adam Haselmayer's *Antwort* to the *Fama*

Bureus reads the *Monas* of John Dee

Death of Henry of Navarre

1611 Helisaeus Roeslin and Johannes Kepler disagree on the comet

Death of Charles IX of Sweden

Gustav Adolf's accession to the throne

Death of Henry of Wales

1612 Maximilian new Emperor

1613 Marriage of Fredrick of the Palatinate and Elisabeth Tudor

1614 *Fama Fraternitatis RC* (Kassel)

J. V. Andreae's *Collectaneorum Mathematicorum* (Tübingen)

Raphael Eglinus' *Assertio Fraternitatis RC* (Frankfurt)

1615 *Confessio Fraternitatis RC* (Kassel)

Philip a Gabella's commentary on Dee's *Monas*

1616 *The Chemical Wedding of C.R.C* (Strassburg)

Bureus' *FaMa e sCanzIa reDVX* and *Ara foederis therapici*

1617 Fredrick V crowned King of Bohemia

1618 Comet
J. V. Andreae's *Christianopolis* and *Turris Babel*
Mysterium Arithmeticum by Johan Faulhaber, Ulm
Descartes in Ulm, learns of Faulhaber's ideas

1619 Scientific group at Rostock founded by Hein and Jungius

1620 Defeat of Fredrick of Bohemia at the White Mountain
Frawen Zimmer der Schwesteren des Rosinfarbende Creutzes

1622 Gustav Adolf starts the war in Livonia
Carl Philip dies
Bureus' *EOA vocula . . . Surge*

1625 J. V. Andreae's circle in Nürnberg, Antilia I and II
Publication of the Lion Prophecy in Copenhagen
Defeat of Christian IV of Denmark at Lutter

1629 The Swedish army enters the war in Germany

1631 Numerous publications of the Lion Prophecy

1632 Gustav Adolf dies at Lützen

1636 Dury mentions Heinrich Hein's "Rosenacademie" at Dorpat
Campanella decides to send a set of his complete works to Sweden

1638 Campanella writes that the Swedish King was vainly inspired by Tycho Brahe to build a city called the Sun

1642 Andreae's letter to Comenius on a new Christian Union

1643 Samuel Hartlib's *Antilia* III
Last version of Bureus' *Adulruna*, dedicated to Christina
Bureus' astronomical broadsheet *Hebraerorum Antiquissima*

1644 Bureus' *Nordlandalejonsens rytande*
Franckenberg's *Oculus Sidereus* on Bruno's infinite worlds

1646 Trial of the Hermetic Unitarian Fredrik Menius at Dorpat
Bureus sends comments on his *FaMa* to Franckenberg at Danzig
Franckenberg sends Bureus' *FaMa* to Samuel Hartlib

CHAPTER ONE

"ADULRUNA REDIVIVA" – JOHANNES BUREUS' ROSY CROSS

FecIt miChi magnalia qvi potens est
et sanctvm, sanctvm, sanctv nome eivs

Records show that along the wind-torn shores of the Baltic—from Lübeck and Danzig in the south to Pernau and Reval in the east, and from Dorpat and Riga in the north-east to Stockholm in the north-west—a particular understanding had flourished. Sightings of celestial portents in 1583 had sped up the dissemination of medical, alchemical, magical, and political tracts in the trade networks among Baltic merchants. The Gregorian calendar reform of this year created a wave of Protestant resistance, as activists claimed that the new dating was a strategy by Rome to confound believers; never more, they cried out, will we know when Easter comes.

What had begun in the first half of the sixteenth century with the presentation of a mysterious Paracelsian theme had reached a bifurcating fork: the chemical and medical sciences were impelled along a familiar line of opposition to scholastic learning; a more obscure and prophetic science began to spread on the basis of a geographic and mythical claim.

The geographic claim evolved into the view that the Scandinavians were a genuinely autochtenous people, who, isolated and self-evolving on their wanderings, had carried with them the gist of an archaic knowledge that was now revealed to have arisen out of the primeval Hyperborean culture in the north to which land Apollo had ridden on his Swans to spend the winters. Adressing himself to the Rosicrucians, Johannes Bureus proclaimed in his *FaMa e sCanzIa reDUX* (s.l., 1616) that the north was distinct in culture and knowledge, that much of this Hyperborean tradition was preserved in the Gothic-Scandinavian Runes, and that a northern wisdom existed that could ensure salvation to those who sought it.

Some of this lore about a special wisdom had been energized by ideas given in satirical form in the visionary tract *Fama Fraternitatis*

R.C., believed to have been written in Tübingen by Johan Valentin Andreae while he was in contact with members of the group around Tobias Hess and Christoph Besold some years before it turned up in print in 1614 at Kassel. Nine editions appeared between 1614 and 1617; four at Kassel, two at Frankfurt, and then those of Danzig and Marburg, as well as translations from the original German into Latin and Dutch at Frankfurt. A new statement, *Confessio Fraternitatis Roseae Crucis. Ad eruditos Europae* appeared in Latin at Kassel in 1615. The authors of the two tracts called for others to come forward in support of the brotherhood. Replies were now being written by various hands and the stream of publications pledged to the Rosicrucian brothers in 1614 to 1620 amount to more than two hundred texts.

Johannes Bureus, the northern antiquarian, worked at this time as a royal archivalist in Sweden and had access to books otherwise difficult to obtain. Bureus found inspiration in the French antiquarian Guillaume Postel's cosmographic ideas on a revival of Celtic Europe with an accompaning revolution of arts and sciences, to which he added ideas on the northern spread of the Hyperborean peoples. Postel's expansionist Gallic imperial scheme was veiled in rhetoric on the redemptive role for mankind that would be played by the sons of Japheth, particularly Gomer and his youngest brother Askenaz. Bureus took interest in Postel's claims concerning the double sources of prophecy: that the Old Testament prophets are completed by the Sibylline oracles, and the prophetic role of Alruna, the northern Sybil, who like the Celtic druids had been revered for her great visionary powers. Alruna was born in 432 B.C. and Bureus believed she knew the great Thracian Sibyls, Latona, Amalthea, and Acheia.[1]

By harkening back to the Sybils, Bureus sought to give new significance to the alleged medieval proofs that the inhabitants around the Baltic were descendents of migrating tribes from before the fall of the Tower of Babel, tribes that undivided and uncorrupted had remained in direct cultural debt to the son and grandson of Noah: Japheth and Askenaz, from which was derived the name *Skanzea.*

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[1] Bureus' MS. F.a.3. f. 156v, 145, 41, Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm. Bureus to Johannes Terserus, 3 December, 1614, MS. K2, Uppsala UB. In Theodore Zwinger, *Theatrum Humanae Vitae*, Basel 1587, Alruna is specified as a Cimbric Sibyl. A note by Bengt Skytte (ca. 1675) explains Bureus' terminology as part of Celtic Druidism: "Magia pers. Incantatione sic Alruna erant Sapientes foeminae apud Gothos unde Alruna dicta verba Mandragora, qui admagia et incantatione valere credentor drotte vel druid (drus)". MS. N 65, f. 41. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm.

Rock carvings and cultic remains of an ancient solar temple at Uppsala showed that the Swedes were the Hyperborean peoples living north of the Gauls spoken of in classical times.[2]

The basic idea of an autochtonous arrival on a straight path from oldest antiquity was a prelude for the detailed historiographic claims put forth during the late fifteenth century Gothic Renaissance, and were now made further plausible through adding a mixture of Hermeticism and neo-Pythagoreanism. In his function as the tutor to the Swedish princes, Gustav Adolf and Carl Philip, Bureus in 1612 began to focus on Zamolxes, the Gothic legislator, who as a northern philosopher in 530 B.C. had brought a magical potion, the "pharmakon", to Italy. In his ethnographic studies, Bureus then sought to clarify precisely the knowledge with which Abaris, the northern Thracian sage, had influenced Pythagoras. In 1616, Bureus' studies led him to hint at these Gothic claims in writings adressed to the Rosicrucian movement.

But all along, the majority of scholars argued against the existence of the Rosicrucian fraternity or this special Hyperborean wisdom. Scholars outside the movement showed no sympathy when Rosicrucian agitation reached the Universities of Rostock and Giessen, and the scepticism continued in a letter from Johan Kirchman to Paul Tarnow, dated Lübeck, 5 May 1617. Kirchman had confronted some colleagues whom he suspected to take an interest in the latest Rosicrucian writings and wrote:

> The nonsense of the Brothers of the Rosy Cross sent here from Stockholm I have shown to D. Lubinus & D. Asselman. Each one of these Fanatics pretended not to know what these dreams, that they wrap themselves up with, mean; one of whom, the only one to whom I suggested where the document comes from, even strongly urged me to commit it to the flames, professing that that was the best kind of refutation. Not one of them is a follower of the model; it is not what you would expect from him. I sent one copy to D. Helvicus of Giessen for his opinion of this marvel and for that of his colleagues: I could learn nothing further about the mysteries of these Brothers.[3]

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[2] Askenaz/Skanzea is suggested by Bureus and by Stiernhielm in his notes for the *Runa Svethica*, Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm. The idea can be traced to Bureus' use of Postel's *De Originibus linguarum*, Paris, 1538. Cf. Arno Borst, *Die Turmbau von Babel—Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völkern*, vol. III:i. Stuttgart, 1960.

[3] J. H. von Seelen, *Athenae Lubecensis*, Lübeck, 1719, vol. iv, p. 270. "Fratrum Rosae Crucis nugamenta Stockholmia huc missa exhibui D. Lubino & D. Asselmanno. Uterque istorum Fanaticorum somnia quid sibi velint, ignorari profiretur, quin alter,

As his inquiries produced so little information, Kirchman passed on the Rosicrucian pamphlet to Christoph Helvicus, a leading orientalist known for his commentaries on *Seder Olam Rabba*, the Hebrew messianic text on the passage of the ages. Even so, the three scholars so intrigued by the mystery from Stockholm—Tarnow, Lubinus, and Asselman—soon joined in a "Rosenacademie" at Rostock organized in 1619 by Heinrich Hein, who was the later rector of Dorpat University in Swedish Livonia.[4] The long distance allegiance among the towns along the Baltic littoral produced ideal conditions for a special sort of Baltic Paracelsism.

Paracelsism was an occult system that was merged with the military perspective of the Evangelical states. Indeed, the Paracelsist influence in Sweden concurred with Sweden's emergence in the European wars, a period of northern influence that lasted from about 1590 to 1718. The objectives of Sweden became manifest in the articulation of an enduring military intention: expansion eastward and southward to the coastal regions across the Baltic waters. Swedish expansion and especially efforts to control Baltic trade met with determined resistance from a hostile Catholic league led by King Sigismund Vasa of Poland and his formidable Habsburg ally. The Swedish undertaking to hold onto lands taken in Livonia during the wars of Carl IX in 1598–1605 was rapidly enhanced by the military reform of 1621, after Ingria and Narwa were subdued to the crown. Through diplomacy, Sweden sought to keep the Danes at bay by contesting the control of Baltic trade through the Sound, that is, the three Baltic straits to the Atlantic (Öresund and the broad and the narrow Baelt).[5]

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cui soli, unde venerint, indicavi, multum me hortatus est, ut ea Vulcano traderem, id genus refutationis fortissimum esse aiebat. Nisi unium ex iis exemplaribus: non quod tu ab eodem exigebas. D. Helvico Giessam scissitandi super his mirabilius ipsius & collegarum judicii gratia: nihil autem de arcanis horum Fratrum cognoscere potui."

[4] On Hein, see Hans Schick, *Das ältere Rosencreuzertum—ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Freimaurerei*, Nordland; Berlin, 1942, pp. 141–142. In 1623, Heinrich Nollius was expelled from the University of Giessen because of his Hermetic tract, *Parergi Philosophici Speculum.*

[5] Gothic historians saw the three crowns in the Swedish coat-of-arms as an emblem for the three straits (baelts) of the Sound, and by extension Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. In 1660, Johannes Scheffer demonstrated that the three crowns were introduced as a Swedish royal emblem by the Hansa-supported Prince Albrecht of Mecklenburg in 1354, taking them to signify a tale from Cologne about the three Magi.

To seal his Baltic design, Gustav Adolf had closed an important alliance in 1620 by marrying Marie Eleonore of Brandenburg-Hohenzollern, the princely Lutheran family controlling the Teutonic Order in Livonia and in dukal Prussia. By 1629, the reforms of Gustav Adolf and mounting external pressures had set the stage for the entrance of the Swedes in the Thirty Years' War.[6]

To support Sweden's naval and economic influence in the Baltic region, the Swedes developed a particular historical fiction, held together by beliefs designed to justify the expressed political aim of establishing a final "dominium maris Baltici."[7] Essential to maintaining this new symbolic order was the imaginary history in which Scandinavia is seen as the land of the Hyperboreans, a claim put forth as part of the Gothic Renaissance.[8] Bureus added to it a new master narrative taken from Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie's Postellian text *La Galliade ou de la revolution des arts et sciences* (Paris, 1578). In this important text, a tale of cyclical cultural effluence along the west-east axis was worked out in five "cercles" or chapters. Boderie claimed that the druidic bards had influenced the early Hebrews, and that the wisdom of the Psalms passed to the hymns of Orpheus and more concretely to Pythagoras in the form of sacred geometry. What had once passed out of Gaul had then returned to it in the form of sacred geometry, the sacred geometry of the high medieval renaissance used by the builders of cathedrals and transmitted by singers of the Gregorian chants, those who place the sevenfold rosetta in their hearts as a celestial lyre. Bureus now argued that there had been a cultural effluence along the north-south axis as well. The Runes of the Scandinavian shamans had through Abaris reached the Pythagoreans in Italy. These sacred patterns of the original alphabet had contributed to Etrurian literary culture that now was returning to the north in the form of ideas on the origin of the Gauls and Hyperboreans, thus completing the cultural cycle.

The mystical origin of the three crowns in the Swedish coat-of-arms was first to be aligned to this new view of ancient history.

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[6] Michael Roberts, "Gustav Adolph and the Art of War" *Essays in Swedish History*, London, 1967.

[7] Ursula Voges, *Der Kamp um das Dominium Maris Baltici 1629–1645*, Greifswald, 1939. The formula governed Swedish foreign policy until the 1648 Westphalian Peace Treaty, when Johan Adler Salvius gave it up in secret alliance with the Queen against Oxenstierna.

[8] Kurt Johannesson, *Gotisk renässans*, Michaelis-gillet; Stockholm, 1982, transl. *The Origin of the Gothic Renaissance in Scandinavia*, London, 1991.

Bureus pointed to the three crowns chiseled onto Mora Stenar, the stone on which the ancient Swedish Kings had been chosen. Then he offered an Hermetic interpretation of the Nordic Pantheon by claiming that the three crowns correspond to a universal Trinity, a trinity also found in classical myth: Thor was God the Father, or Lumen, the Themis lex divina and the Thora lex judeorum, and even Jupiter Mandragora. Othin was the Son, or the verbum Dei, the sapientia of the Pythagoreans, Mars, and Hercules. Freya was identical with the Holy Spirit, or the foecunditas universi, the bonitas divina, the Diana of the Ephesians. Bureus illustrated his insights with female figures, among them the northern Sibylla, for a projected monument, the Tropheum Upsalicum.[9]

In this mytho-poetic reconstruction, the three golden crowns on the royal coat-of-arms represent the three oldest communities of Scandinavia, the Fylkelands around Uppsala: Tyunda, Ottunda, Ferugra. Each was consecrated to a deity: Thor, Othin, and Frey.[10] Each became a totemic emblem of the confederated regions of Sweden: Uplandia, Vestmannia, and Sudromannia. Appealing to Hermetic chronology, Bureus then boldly argued that Uppsala had been founded before the time of Abraham.[11]

The tripartite scheme was prepared for one of Bureus' manuscripts with the preliminary title *Adulruna et Alruna Baltica Scanziana*, in which we find a dedication to the memory of "Gustavus Hero Baltica." In this small book, the wanderings of the Goths (Getes) are traced, by way of land, to Scandinavia.[12] From notes to this work, one can see that in 1612, Bureus entertained the idea that "Gether Bactrianus doctor et sacerdos est Zoroasther et Prometheus," a statement that he held to until 1643, when instead he asked himself: "Gether Bactrianus ex ipso est 1. Prometheus, 3. [sic] Zoroaster, 2. Hercules?" In either case, the noble Goths were hidden in the myths of both Persians and Greeks, and were therefore older. Bureus also argued that the first to invent the gnomic device for constructing the Runes,

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[9] *Antiquitates Scanziana*, MS. F.a.3. f. 41. KB, Stockholm.

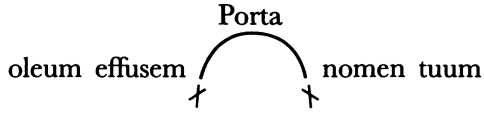
[10] *Adulruna Redi-viva sive Sapientis Sueorum veterum—De Mysteriis Alphabeti trium Coronarum. Regni trium Fulkandiarum sive Svethiae antiquissime*, MS. Råhlamb, no. 27, 8. f. 87, 89. KB, Stockholm.

[11] Arameisms and Arabisms occur frequently in the Book of Job. That some of Noah's descendants through to Abraham spoke Arabic was a not uncommon seventeenth century view. Hence, Bureus saw Chaldean resonances in Arabic.

[12] *Adul-Runa Redi-Viva ad trinitatis Divine Gloriam ex patria monumentis . . . Theosophia Vestita Radiis in Scenam prodies Anno Crucis 1605*, MS. R 551a, Uppsala UB.

the *Adulruna*, was "Birger, Tyunda Lagman," the legendary Magistrate at the Tyunda Ting. The establishing of the uniformity of the Runic script from the primitive base of the 16 character "Futhark" led to the idea of proposing a new origin for the alphabetic languages in Europe. Bureus claimed that from this apex of cultural development, the (fictional) Swedish King Erik VIII stood out as the undisputed authority for the Gothic nations, "like the sun in the middle of the planets and the midst of the Gothic monarchy."[13]

At the time that Bureus wrote these lines, Sweden was in the process of assuming a new political role among the evangelical states. King Carl IX had defeated his Catholic nephew Sigismund Vasa of Poland in 1598 and had proceeded to nurture important contacts with the French-inspired Calvinist court of Moriz the Learned at Hesse-Kassel. At the death of Carl in 1611, Bureus presented a most remarkable manual to Prince Gustav Adolf and his younger brother, Duke Carl Philip. He intended it as a secret manual of Kingship and it was called *Adul-Runici Clypei quinarius penetralis seu Adulruna Rediviva de quinque Alphabeti seeri dispositionibus.* Bureus expounded on the title with the epigram "Clypeum nostrum Adulruna Mandragorae," our breast-plate, the bronzen Mandragora etched with the adulrune.[14] He thought that the title page could carry an entrance, or threshhold, made out of trumpets from which resonate a divine message:



This arrangement emerged early in Bureus' thinking. In another place he says that it is a special icon built up from three elements (⌒, regies, ᛏ, gratia, ᚾ, gloriae). It would convey, on the Day of Resurrection, the sight of the great and shining throne "thronum (candidum) magnum" on which the book of life would be laid open, as said in Daniel 7:9–10 and Revelations 20:11. These magnificent aspects of the cult of majesty had some influence on Gustav Adolf

[13] "quasi Sol in medio Planetarum centralis esset et media totius Gothice monarcha", MS. Råhlamb, no. 27, 8. f. 13.

[14] A note by Bengt Skytte (ca. 1675) explains Bureus' terminology as part of Celtic Druidism: "Magia pers. Incantatione sic Alruna erant Sapientes foeminae apud Gothos unde Alruna dicta verba Mandragora, qui admagia et incantatione valere credentor drotte vel druid (drus)". MS. N 65, f. 41. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm.

on his assumption of the Swedish throne on 30 October 1611. But this sacred and secret scheme seems to have had less power and value for the five Lords of the interim government that followed upon the death of the King in 1632, a high council that included Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm, Gustav Adolf's illegitimate brother. What Axel Oxenstierna's thoughts were are unknown, when, on 28 February 1640, Bureus offered him a gilt-edged Swedish version of the *Adulruna*, small enough to fit in the hand.[15]

Hanseatic Trade and the Lumen Sopho of a Christian Union

On 12 January 1632, fifteen years after the Rosicrucian blast had reached Rostock, the same Paracelsist Doctor Kirchman wrote with considerably more confidence to the Rosicrucian Joachim Morsius of Lübeck on some specifics in the alchemical tradition: "Brother Basilius Valentinus' Ms. testament shows that the secrets of the sons of Hermes are equally found in the Opus Vegetabili of <the alchemist> Isaac the Hollander."[16] The reference to "the secrets of the sons of Hermes" remains enigmatic, even though alchemical practise was widespread and the mystery it harbored not specific to the Protestant north.

Medical researchers such as Kirchman and Morsius learned more about alchemy and medicine through travel to the various ports of the Baltic. For this reason and for generations in Germany, Lübeck had been considered "the northern college of the Hanseatic league," the obvious opening to the ports of Copenhagen, Stockholm, Åbo, and Riga, to Visby on Gotland and to Reval and Pernau, and not least to Danzig, the center for the Hansa trade with the Dutch and for Polish grain. Even if the thousand-ship fleet of the Hansa had long since begun to decline, and even if the learned master Paracelsus had not as he claimed spent many days "in Stockholm in Denmark" in 1521, he had more followers than ever in the 1630s in the German congregation in Stockholm.[17] For some time, perhaps even since the

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[15] MS. R 551b, Uppsala UB. The offer may indicate that Oxenstierna was influenced by Bureus to a greater degree than hitherto expected. In 1622, he was very critical of the Rosicrucians.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 272. "Fratris Basili Valentini testamentum MS. quod arcanis apud Hermetis filios habetur Isaac Hollandi opus vegetabili."

[17] Paracelsus may have been a soldier in the army of the Danish King Christian

beginning of the fall of the Hansa, the German congregation had exerted influence in the Swedish ports of trade and around its royal seat. They kept up the trades, pressed the influence of the German language, seldom intermarried with the locals, and closed their guilds to non-German speaking middlemen. For a relatively low cost, or indeed for nothing, merchants such as these could take letters on board for shipment along with their cargo and thus ensure a quick delivery across the waters.

The concrete difficulty for the Swedes in the Baltic from the 1610s to the 1640s was how to build a homogenous civil society out of local provinces and small towns whose interest in a confederacy lay only in their trading contacts across the waters of the Baltic Sea. True, the Hanseatic league had consisted of ports held together by mutual interests: the demand for tar and pitch, the salt sought in exchange for herring, fur, and timber. But the Hanseatic terms of legislation had been markedly Germanic and its society distinctly monocultural. The Hanseatic control over the trade was in fact a defensive monopoly and it operated on a shrinking market, more and more under pressure from rivals first in Antwerp, then in Amsterdam.

Because there were many nostalgic memories of this community of trade and thought, the political bases of the Hanseatic confederacy were closely reviewed, as in the four volume chronicle *De Rebuspublicis Hanseaticis* (Leiden, 1631) by Johan Angelus Werdenhagen at Hamburg, a follower of Jacob Böhme, but also suspected to be a Jesuit spy.[18] At this precarious stage of the Swedish advance in northern Germany, Werdenhagen defends Habsburg dominance by confronting the liberty of trade in cities such as Lübeck, Danzig, Braunschweig, and Cologne with an Imperial political doctrine of Christian charity and servitude. Above all, he seeks to clarify what Imperial jurists mean by the statement: "servitude is the legal state of a people, who against nature subject themselves to an alien Lord." In chapters such as "What is a universal society?" and "What is real liberty?", an argument is set forth instead to show how natural

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II. On the Hansa generally, cf. David Kirby, *Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period—The Baltic World 1492–1772*, Longman; London, 1990.

[18] Balint Keserü points out that Johannes Permeier suspected that Werdenhagen was affiliated with the Jesuits. Werdenhagen wrote sonets for the birthday of Duke August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in 1628. He was devoted to Jacob Boehme, and wrote the condemned, but influential *Psychologia vera J.B.T.*, Amsterdam, 1632.

harmony can be cultivated by a nation in order for political subjects to gain mutual privilege.[19]

Using the political models of Jean Bodin and Christoph Besold at Tübingen, Werdenhagen favours a society of equity and justice bound together by Christian love.[20] The confederacy sought is compared to Plato's ideas on the origin of civil society, and emphasis is laid on the social virtues represented in the *Alcibiades* and the *Symposion.* By contrast, the "vulgar opinions of the Stagirite," found in Aristotle's *Politeia* and recently much discussed by German Lutherans, was scorned. What was needed even among Hanseatic merchants was "caritas," the attitude conducive to the formation of a society of spontaneous subjection in natural servitude to a higher goal. In fact, Werdenhagen worried that the Hansa would seek alliance with the Swedish King. Hence, he recommended that the waning Hansa submit their markets to the German Emperor in order to create a true "Hanseatica Teutonica," because "for a merchant", he argued, "coffee can never be made too strong." From the very beginning of his study, Werdenhagen pointed out that the Holy Roman Empire was an association imbued with divine light, infused by the "spiritus Jehova" and the "lumen sopho" spoken of in the Kabbalah. Indeed, this spirit was a fire and a light confluent from salt, mercury, and sulphur, and hence was a celestial "tinctura" most aptly described by conjugal love, or by the patrofilic and the patrofamilic relations favoured by the Imperial monarchy.[21]

But the Holy Roman Empire was not the sole community to foster charitable confraternal ideals. A version of this social conditioning was put forth also in the Protestant camp, at Erfurt in 1633–34, as Lutherans began to forge gold-plated copper coins to commemorate the death of Gustav Adolf. The King's body was depicted as lying on lit-de-parade with the insignia of Sulphur and Mercury bound together in a stem. The alchemical insignia was the minters-mark of Antonius Weismantel and was also meant to signify the need for concord, peace, and fruitful flowering in evangelical Germany

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[19] Johann Angelus Werdenhagen, *De Rebuspublicis Hanseaticis et earum cellebrimae Confederationis Societate*, Leiden, 1631, Vol. I, pp. 359, 200.

[20] Besold was Andreae's teacher at Tübingen, and in his *Politicorum libri duo* (Strassburg, 1618), he uses ideas of both Campanella's *Civitatis Solis* (in MS. 1603) and Boccalino's *Ragguagli di Parnasso* (Venice, 1612), works he translated together with Tobias Hess. Besold converted to Catholicism in 1622.

[21] J. A. Werdenhagen (1631), pp. 465ff., 475.

after the untimely martyrdom of the Swedish King. The display of these coins carried a long-lived legend: that the inscriptions showed them to be forged from a special metal produced during a successful act of alchemical transmutation, catalysed by the presence of a monarch destined to rule over all Lutheranism.[22] Responding to this praise of the Swedish King at Erfurt and Wolgast, in 1633, the Lutheran Pastor J. V. Andreae published a speech in which he took on precisely that attitude of subjection to an alien Lord against which Werdenhagen had warned. Addressing himself to the "society for the raising up and for the defence of brothers in dispersion, those who on their evangelical breastplates carry the great name of their strong and pious King," Andreae printed the speech together with a project for the restitution in Germany of a Christian Republic.[23]

In saluting the memory of Gustav Adolf, Andreae now transferred praise to the new Swedish governors, Axel Oxenstierna and Gustav Horn. He called on fellow Lutheran theologians such as Johannes Gerhard, Polycarp Leiser, Johannes Saubert, and Conrad Theodoric, preachers who were strategically placed to form a *Pietatis Germaniae* in Leipzig, Jena, Nürnberg, and Ulm. In the same year Andreae also addressed to them a dialogue in heaven on the battle of Gustav Adolf against "Apap"—which contained a thinly disguised doctrine of Caesaro Papism. "Apap" was also the mythical snake of the underworld, defeated by Ra, the sun and creative demiurg, in the cosmic war postulated by the ancient priests at Hermopolis. This creature passes from Egypt and from the Greek myth about the battle of the Titans to the myth of St. George and the Dragon.[24] In such Lutheran revivalist circles as these, politics in northern Germany continued to center on a saviour leader, picked out through alchemical, mythographic, and evangelical symbolism.

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[22] The minter is identified as Johan Scheider Weismantel using the mark of Asmun Wagner (A. W.) of Erfurt. Gustav Adolf's body was on display at Erfurt, Naumburg, and Wittenberg from June 1632 to the beginning of March 1633, and was then carried to Wolgast and Sweden. Cf. Arne Wettermark, "Ett Hermetiskt Guldmynt från Kristina-utställningen" *Saga och Sed*, 1966, pp. 83–107.

[23] J. V. Andreae, *Pietatis Germanae ad Gustavum Adolphum Suecorum regem magnum, principis christiani exemplum alloquium, calamo vicario Johannes Valentini Andreae*, Nürnberg, 1633 dedicated to "Societati pro sublevandis et tuendis Fratribus 'en diasporai LIPSIAE nuper ab Evangelicis conditae augustum nomen REGIS PII FORTIS in clypeo suo gerenti."

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13. The theme of "Apap" may derive from the Egyptian-Hermetic prophecies, perhaps mediated by the translator of Campanella, Tobias Adami.

Johannes Bureus' Rosicrucian Altar and the Temple at Damar

From 1616 to 1618, Johannes Bureus produced no less than three Rosicrucian pamphlets building up to his claim about the secret of the Runes and their Gothic past. The first of these, the *Ara Foederis Therapici F.X.R. Assertioni Fraternitatis RC quam Roseae Crucis vocant, consecrata. Hoc lege, perlecto Carmine certis eris* (n.p. 1616), was a brief addition to a reprinted text in verse produced at Hagenau in 1614. Alluding to an interior castle, and intended to persuade all those in doubt, the added lines herald:

Sacrum hoc castrum esto fraternitatis

ROSA		ALRUNA	Iam ANSES
EST	&	nupta	(DIXIt)
V.ET.N		Proteo	proCreo
CRUX			

The frontispiece shows an altar inscribed with a rose and a tau set within a circle, thus creating the sign of vitriol, the green salt from which the process of alchemy can begin, a salt that Paracelsus calls the Signat-stern.

In a second tract, the *FaMa*, Bureus draws on the prophetical treasure *Clangor Buccina Jubilei* (1584) emanating from the magical court of Emperor Rudolph II in Prague. It was probably this second text, *FaMa e sCanzIa reDUX*, that Kirchman of Lübeck had read. Signed with Bureus' concealed initials "BisvATI Ierubbabel", it trumpeted the title, *Buccina Iubilei Ultimi—hyperbolic prediction of Eos, smiting with resplendent noise the summits of the mountains of Europe, sounding amidst the hills and valleys of Arabia* (n.p. 1616). Through an outburst of enigmatic pronouncements, Bureus interprets the seven trumpets of the Apocalypse, in chapters 11 and 14, as a new key for the Second Coming.[25] In a torrent of revelations his call resonates:

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[25] The translation is by A. E. Waite. Note that "Tubae penultima stridor" was Postel's special signum, as in the *Panthenousia*. The "buccinae" also resonate with the apocalypse of the Koran as translated into Latin by Theodore Bibliander in 1543. A Czeck version of the *Clangor* from Prague is now in Christina's collection at Leiden. Cf. P. C. van Boeren, *Codex Vossiani Chymici*, Leiden, 1975. The Latin version is found in the *Museaeum Hermeticum* (5 vols. Amsterdam, 1623–50).

Evropa	Evigilia Europa felix, ad stridorem venientis: Eur ☿ sagitta Abarides
Eur-hopa	InITInωrω 1290 dies Et exultabit ARABA solitudo & florebit velut rosa

Bureus had probably seen Abraham Ortelius' map of the world, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570), in which Damcar, the secret city of the Queen of Sheba, is described as situated in *Arabia Felix* with the same typographical error as in the second edition of the *Confessio* (Frankfurt, 1615). Damcar is actually Damar in Yemen. The chronicler Leo Africanus had described that city as situated on the eastern shore of the Red Sea and told how the Sabéans there could pursue their planetary worship in peace. The *Confessio* lauds it, "for there do govern only wise and understanding men, who pursue by the king's permission to make particular laws; according unto which example also the government shall be instituted in Europe." The 1290 days from Daniel 12:11 signified, so Bureus hoped, a new "congregation" and a new dawn for the right-thinking peoples in Europe.[26]

Note, in this context, that the 1639 Scottish translation of the *Confessio* gives Damascus instead of Damcar. This is even more incorrect. No copy of the Frankfurt edition of 1615 has been preserved on the British isles, so the list of printing errors with the clue to Damear was never seen in the English-speaking world. One wonders whether the perpetuation of the printing error was deliberate disinformation, either on part of the original authors or on part of the English translators; was the original Damcar-Damear substitution a deliberate blind to protect the location of Damar? In any case, the blind is brilliant, since Damcar means "the blood of the Lamb" in Hebrew, thus satisfying the curiosity of profane.

Members of the Sabéan sect were active in Damar at the alleged time of Christian Rosencreutz. It is uncertain whether or not they are related to the more well known Ssabians of the Eastern Khurasan.

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[26] R. Kienast, "Die vier ältesten Rosencreutzerschriften" *Paleaestra* 152, Leipzig, 1926, p. 113. A copy of this rare 1615 edition of the *Fama* is preserved in Uppsala UB. Thomas Vaughan conflates Damcar with Damascus in his 1652 translation, see Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (Routledge and Kegan Paul; London, 1972), ARK Paperbacks; London, 1986, pp. 239ff. esp. p. 254. Cf. Paul Arnold, *Histoire des Rosecroix et les origines de la Franc-Maconnerie* (preface by Umberto Eco), Mercure de France; Paris, 1990, p. 354, n. 47.

In Aramaic "sabi" means "to dip" or "to baptize" and it was believed in the seventeenth century that the Ssabians were identical with the Mandaean Hebrew Christians of St. John, both sects having branches in the Baghdad area. Orientalist antiquarians investigated their origin and religious practises. The Rosicrucian reader John Selden did so in his *De Diis Syris* (1617), not least because the Sura 2:32 of the Quran says that the Sabians will be saved along with "the peoples of the Book." The Mandaeans held a great worship for the North, the source of light, and they buried their dead facing towards the polar star. To those concerned with what sources on the Mandaeans were available by 1610, it is noteworthy that Ignatius of Antioch describes the Christians of St. John in a special tract *Narratio originis . . . christianorum Sancti Johannis.*[27] The identification of the Ssabians with the Mandaeans is rejected by modern research, however. Instead, the Quranic term refers to the Ssabians of Harran in the Bagdad area, the sect practising pre-Islamic worship of the planets. They attributed these revelations to Hermes and Agathodemon, today held to be a deliberate blind, put forward to gain tolerance after the Muslim conquest.[28]

The Sabéans of Damar in Arabia Felix appear at first glance to be followers of the Queen of Sheba of Ethiopia, whose story is told in Coptic books (Yemen was part of Ethiopia at that time). According to other more well known Ethiopian legends, they had an Ark of the Covenant. The Ssabians of Harran in the Baghdad area, on the other hand, adhered to an ancient pagan worship of the seven planets behind a veil of Hermetic revelation attributed to the prophet Idris, identified as the first Hermes or Enoch. In Arabic sources, the Ssabians of Harran are called "the adepts of the Temples." They built separate temples for each one of the seven ancient planets in specific geometric shapes, and in different locations. The shapes were as follows: one was round (for the Soul of the World), one triangular (Jupiter), one quadrangular (Sun), one pentagonal (Moon), one hexagonal (Saturn), one hexagonal within a square (Mercury), one built as a triangle within an elongated square (Venus), and one as an

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[27] See Daniel Chwolson, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, St. Petersburgh, 1856, pp. 27, 48. Henry Corbin, "Rituel Sabéen et exegèse ismael'ienne du rituel" *Eranos Jahrbuch*, 1950, pp. 181–246. Also the excellent work of Tamara M. Green, *The City of the Moon God—Religious Traditions of Harran.* E. J. Brill; Leiden, 1992, p. 206.

[28] Jan Hjärpe, *Analyse critique des traditions arabes sur les Sabéens Harraniens*, Diss. Uppsala, 1972, pp. 62ff., 90–92.

elongated quadrangle (Mars). While the relation of the Ssabians to the Sabéans of Yemen are unclear, it is known that the Sabeans worshipped the Sun, Moon, and Venus; a temple specified for this kind of worship may have been built in Damar. A Ssabian temple dedicated to Mercury was even located in Spain, built during the Moorish occupation. This is very suggestive since Christian Rosencreutz visited Spain as well. It is not unlikely, given this information, that the *Confessio* intends to convey that Christian Rosencreutz was initiated by Ssabian adepts, and that the stories of his journeys record his visits to their various planetary temples. It is unclear how much of these connections were known to the writers of the *Confessio*, but as I show later in further detail, ancient theories on the special status of the seven planets were active ingredients in Paracelsian astrology.

Because of its density and obscurity, most readers were unable to discern fully the meaning of the seven sections of Bureus' *FaMa*, a text that offers no explicit opinion on the Damcar/Damar issue. Bureus had sent it sealed and stamped with green wax to the universities of Rostock, Greifswald, Frankfurt, Wittenberg, Jena, and Altdorf, where, Kirchman tells us, some believed that the seal was that of the RC brothers themselves. It consisted of a circular arrangement with the Hebrew text from Psalms 91:16, "Bisvati", in my salvation, and with the signature ITABURE. It is significant that Johannes Bureus' quaint kabbalism of 1616 ("ad stridorem venientis") was taken up immediately by the physician of Duke August of Wolfenbüttel, Melchior Breler from Fulda in Buchau, in his *Echo Buccinae Iubilei Ultimi nuper e Scanzia in Germaniam F.R.C. missae.* Other early Rosicrucian pamphlets are cited in Joachim Morsius's pseudonymic list of Hermetic books, *Nuncium Olympicus von ethlichen geheimen Bücheren und Schrifften* (Lübeck, 1626), at a time when Rosicrucianism was said to have completely died out among the seriously concerned.[29] Yet, many themes presented in these documents continued to be promoted and to be favourably received.

Closer study of Bureus' papers shows that *FaMa e sCanzIa reDUX* was a response to the text of the *Confessio*:

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[29] Heinrich Schneider, *Johannes Morsius und Sein Kreis*, Lübeck, 1943. A copy of Melchior Breler's answer is in Karl Widemann's papers at Augsburg. In his *Mysterium inequitatis pseudo-evangelica*, 1621, Breler refers to Besold and Hess and to Andreae's spiritual knight in *Theca gladii spiritus* (1619), but stresses the redemptive doctrine of Tauler and Johan Arndt.

> And thenceforth our Trumpet shall publically sound with a loud sound and great noise, when namely the same (which at this present is shown by few, and is secretely, as a thing to come, declared in figures and pictures) shall be free and publicly proclaimed and the whole world shall be filled withal.[30]

What was at stake was the new Rosicrucian language, explained in the *Confessio* as consisting of "letters and characters" found here and there in the Bible and imprinted in nature by God,

> From the which characters and letters we have borrowed our magic writing, and have found out, and made a new language for ourselves, [in which withall is] expressed and declared the nature of things. So, there is no wonder we are not eloquent in other languages, the which we know that they are altogether disagreeing to the language of our forefathers, Adam and Enoch, and were through the Babylonical confusion wholly hidden.[31]

As Bureus saw, the language of Japheth could just be this ancient and perfect language. The sought for Enochian script was not a form of Coptic or Chaldean, but the language of the Runes.[32]

Adulruna and Momentum Excitationis

In personal notes dated as early as 1609–1611, we can see how Bureus works out a mystical sevenfold iconography based on the ancient runes, inspired by millenarian and kabbalistic texts, and in particular by the hieroglyphic monad of John Dee, which by 1610 emerges as the main pattern for Bureus' thesophic tool, the Adulruna. The notes also show that by 1610, Bureus was reading John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*; he noted in particular that the monas is referred to neutrally in English and Swedish, "it/ett/en."[33] In an ingenious interpretation, the *Monas* was decomposed and rearranged as when

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[30] Frances Yates (1986), pp. 254–255.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

[32] Bureus follows Postel in believing that the Hebrew characters developed through Noah, Seth, and Enoch. A copy of the Ethiopian book of Enoch annotated by Roger Bacon was used by John Dee in sessions of angelic magic with Edward Kelley at Prague in 1586. See Nicholas Clulee (1988), p. 209.

[33] Bureus mentions Dee's *Monas* on 16 January 1610, Ms. N 24, f. 60v. Linköpings Stiftsbibliotek. There are photocopies of this manuscript at Kungliga Biblioteket and there is a folder of the items on exhibition at the library in 1967, mimeographed at MS. IB 80.

Bureus assimilated his special Rune ᛗ, "bjärkan," to the sign for Aries 3, ♈, and then (quasi fluxu) by superimposing them, wedded it to the moon, sun, and cross ⊕. "Id est sol et luna, Adul-Runa." The discovery that the root pattern for the *Adulruna* is John Dee's hieroglyphic monad, supports Frances Yates and undermines Brian Vickers's contention that Dee's ideas are a most unlikely source of Rosicrucianism. According to Vickers, Dee's *Monas* was not a famous book, but rather an obscure text on the absolute margin of Renaissance culture, quoted by no more than ten contemporary writers.[34] Yet, in Bureus we find a Swedish Rosicrucian who not only reads the *Monas*, but who also, while supressing his source, builds his most favoured spiritual glyph on it.

In a later phase, from 1625, Bureus' ideas also appear in a projected Rosicrucian document that develops on the restitution of mind, body, and soul in an angelic prophecy attributed to ARIEL, the Lion of God. By that time, Bureus' other Rosicrucian texts, the *Ara Foederis Therapici F.X.R* (1616) and the *FaMa e sCanzIa reDUX* (1616), had been given second printings. Bureus persisted in proclaiming the elements for a theosophy of Runes that he first elaborated in his secret manual for Kingship, the *Adulruna Rediviva*, given to Gustav Adolf on his day of accession in 1611. This manuscript underwent several redactions beginning in 1605, and he kept on revising it until 1643, when the *Adulruna* finally was presented to Queen Christina of Sweden, on her seventeenth birthday.

Bureus' manuscripts offer much material on how an early theosophist conceived of the process of regeneration, both in his own person and then in the sense of a collective outpouring of grace in the seventh age heralded by the Rosicrucians. While Bureus' ideas instruct us about the character of early theosophy, it is of interest that Bureus' Rosicrucian interpretation of 1616 had further influence. In 1646, the mystic at Danzig, Abraham van Franckenberg, sent a manuscript copy of the *FaMa e sCanzIa reDUX* to the millenarian reformer Samuel Hartlib in England. He sent another copy, on 16 April 1651, to the brilliant Hermeticist in Rome, Athanasius Kircher. In this document, Bureus' views emerge as part of a much larger world

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[34] Brian Vickers (1979), p. 308n. Apart from its being mentioned in the *Fama* (I.O.'s Book H.), there are dozens of German translations in manuscript, among them one belonging to Queen Christina, at MS. Reg. Lat. 1266. Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.

vision that grew out of his obsession with signifying spiritual ideas pictorially.

In 1614, Bureus announced that he had undergone a significant experience that he now tried to convey in a letter to his friend Johannes Terserus by drawing a particular sign that on the face of it looks like a crucified heart pierced with three nails, but shaping, as he said, a sevenfold key and a Runic Cross. Authors commenting on Bureus' theosophy have been much bewildered by this sign, given his claims that it describes the sublime mystical experience, his momentum excitationis, that he underwent at Stora Tuna in Dalecarlia a little before half past six on the morning of December 5th, 1613. On that morning, Bureus claims to have finally perceived the hidden truth "that no author could disclose." He had heard a voice, as if singing: "RIVos IaM CLaVDe PVEr sat prata bIberVnt—Close up the streams, young boy, for the meadows have drunk themselves full." The Latin phrase turns out to be the chronogram for 1673, and Bureus went on to use it in explicating the Apocalypse. He also indicated that he had gone into that state of mind called the mystery of regeneration, the state in which things are seen and heard that according to Hermes must not be communicated to the profane. Readers who have noticed Bureus' cross and nails have believed them to be the product of some intense christocentric meditations, particularly since he later, in 1644, made a new drawing called ECCe CRVCeM Cor et ClaVos IesV—the chronogram for 1666—that in detail reproduce his findings from 1613.[35]

Had Bureus perhaps gone through some form of inexplicable manic (or even drunken) experience? Was it a depressive state that he now went on to belabor with material from his readings, visions, and dreams? No, Bureus clearly had something else in mind in calling his insight "that which no author could disclose." After much searching, I have identified the source for Bureus' insight. What he actually heard was the last line of Virgil's third *Eclogue*, the part that ends the contest of songs among shepherds by closing the streams of milk that have flowed through Virgil's scene, just after he posed his alluring enigma:

> Tell me in what land not wider than three ells
> does the space of heaven extend,

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[35] Håkan Sandblad, "Eken vid Güstrow och de sju inseglen—till tolkningen av Johannes Bureus religiösa mystik", *Lychnos* (1959), pp. 70–87.

> Tell me in what land grows flowers
> with the names of Kings inscribed. . . .[36]

It was not, as one might think, that no author would ever be able to retell the exstatic experience of finding the clue, but rather that Bureus was concerned that there were authors who had tried but who could not tell. He was thinking of the scroll sealed with seven seals in Revelations 5:5, of which it is sadly said,

> And I saw a mighty Angel proclaiming in a loud voice: who is worthy to break the seven seals and open the scroll or even look inside it? I wept and wept because no-one was found who was worthy to open the scroll and look inside. . . .

The crucified heart was the outcome of some intense readings of the book of Revelations to which Bureus now thought he had found the key. By offering his set of tokens, Bureus thought he had summed up the whole doctrine of the Apocalypse. His geographic and biblical studies had pointed him to land of redemption, the land of his own. This tremendous insight did not dawn upon him quickly, however, because its precise growth can be seen in his notes of the preceding years.

The notes of 1609–1611 stem from Bureus' work on the construction of the *Adulruna*, initially taken as the ancient mystical norm by which the Nordic Runes must have been constructed. The enigma surrounding "that which no author could disclose" is dispelled if one concentrates on these notes and on their context of theosophic apocalypticism at a time just before the publication of the first Rosicrucian documents.

Runic Combinations and Adulrunic Theosophy

Bureus read widely in Latin Kabbalah and these kabbalistic influences are already present in the manual of Runic mysticism that he started to work out in a first version, entitled *Adul-Runa Redi-Viva . . . Theosophia Vestita Radiis in Scenam prodies Anno Crucis 1605.* In his diary of the

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[36] Vergil, *Eclogues* III, 111. The first enigma is usually taken to refer to the span of heaven captured in the surface of the water in a well, and the second to refer to Hyacinth beginning with "ai", Greek for king. At line 63–64, Virgil sings "Galatea hits me with an apple and flees into the willows and hopes to be seen first." In all of this Bureus sees the Hyperbeorean far north.

subsequent years, Bureus emerges as a fully formed Hermeticist. In May, 1607, he made numerological annotations to the ten pyramidal points of the Pythagorean Tetractys (1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10). Bureus reasoned that because the Hebrews avoid all direct naming of the Holy One, they insist on seven as the divine number only to avoid naming the sum of the triad 1, 2, & 3, which equals six. He offered the six-pronged Hagal Rune ᚼ as a Japhetic emblem for this ancient secret. In July 1608, he saw himself in a dream devising a key with the inscription ANIMUS and shortly thereafter dreamed of a carnal experience.

In 1609–1610, on a more massive scale, Bureus started to coordinate the views of the Hermetic philosophers to the Runes. He made excerpts from Pico's *Heptaplus*, from Ficino's expositions of the triads in the late Platonic commentaries by Porphyry and Proclus, and from the Hermetic *Pimander*. In a similarly ecclectic fashion, he drew on the Christian Kabbalists Johannes Reuchlin, Petrus Galatinus, and Paul Scalichius to represent some central Runes as "stations" in a sevenfold descent from the superior to the inferior world. He read Helisaeus Roeslin's Copernican and Paracelsian compendium *De Nova Mundi Hypotheses* (1598) and copied down its elaborate "Signaculum mundi Pythagoricum." Pursuing this kabbalism further, he drew up the Sephirothic tree from a work by Cesare Evoli published in Vienna in 1573. He emphasized the coordination of the seven planets to the seven lower Sephira, and contemplated putting it on a coat-of-arms.

Throughout this period, Bureus kept astronomical records, made optical measurements, and experimented in alchemy. After visiting Wäsby in 1610, he even left behind an allusion to the great work—"Hic LABor hic reQVIes"—in an old alchemical album of Peder Månsson, the early sixteenth century book keeper and alchemist of renown at the monastery of Wadstena. Bureus' most frequent notes reveal that he had started to take excerpts from the *Amphitheatrum* of Heinrich Khunrath in order to adapt its doctrines to the Runes. Just as man is the measure of all things, the Runes can be developed in three distinct patterns, each representing an anthropocentric idea; and, as Bureus says, they are of use to the *theantropos*, the angelic Pastor of the scattered flock. In the notes of 1610–1612, three signs emerge:

1. a sevenfold arrow-with-a-goal, similar to Abaris' arrow. ᚠ
2. a concentric solar cross, the *Adulruna* proper. ⊕
3. a male and female arrangement based on the "signum foederis tres coronae", allusive of the mystical union (sponsus et sponsa). ᛉ ᛉ

The first of these, the sevenfold Runic arrow, is meant to incorporate a septenary, a sextenary, and a binary structure. To explain the arrow, Bureus coordinates it to a few kabbalistic concepts in a ladder of descent from the One:

	O	principium absoluti purimum	
Lux	Y	modus mentis	Cabala
lum.	X	L	tenebras
spl.	I	Lux	lumen
calor	l		lucem
gratio	i	splendor	
gratum	♏	trombua	

At this stage, however, the arrow is not entirely fixed in its details; the Runic "sun" at its top and the Runic "footstool" at its bottom are yet not named. Later, the arrow-with-its-goal emerges alone, without the explanatory concepts, or differently, as nodes in a sevenfold chronology, adding up to 1666. The point of the sevenfold construction appears to have a deep meaning, for in the notes under the title "senario septentrionis" is a sixfold septenary, also understood as the *northern* sixfold. Here, Bureus develops the fact that snowflakes drop down in a variety of sixfold shapes. He goes on to join a sign for a snowflake to his special Rune, Bjärkan ᛒ, to form a Runic line of descent from the sun, O, wedded to Aries, ♏. ♀

Bureus presents the Adulruna proper as a Runic solar cross; he later adds to it a crucified heart and three nails, and it becomes the gnomic device for constructing the Runes. In notes for the *Antiquitates Scanziana*, Bureus states that this crucified sun is to represent 1. solar influence (divine goodness). It is generated by 2. an infinite circle (negative theology) and 3. a cross that represents "Paracelsus as the hand of God (affirmative theology)." The sign of the cross itself is generated from 4. an eternal horizon –, and a vertical line, seen as the Son of God descending into the netherworld. The theosophy of infinity by Nicholas Cusanus was applied, in terms of his observation that an infinite circle joins with an infinite plane.

The human shaped sign "tres coronae" occurs later in 1623 in two arrangements, a male version and a female version, each inserted below a Runic sun and above a Runic footstool. They are called "Bureloft, Brudeloft" (the loft of Bureus and of the Bride) apparently to develop an early astro-spiritual idea expressed in the Hermetic formula, "☉ & ☾ nuncius caeli et terra maritatio," that signifies the mystical union between heaven and earth expounded by Pico della Mirandola and even more so by John Dee.

In the early notes of 1609–1611, one can follow closely how Bureus investigates the Pythagorean "Y"; for example, he relates it to the sign for mercury, ☿, and alludes to the Hermetic view that the "Y" was used in antiquity by Orpheus. By 1611, Bureus playfully puts the "signum tres coronae" on a shield with the text "EUR" underneath, and faithful to his neo-Gothic anthropology, he baptizes it "Cithara" or "Lyra Apollinis", the seven-stringed lyre of Apollo.

The emergence of these ideas may have a specific cause. When the Swedes robbed the library of the Polish Jesuit College at Posen in 1609, they succeeded in carrying home a first edition of John Dee's celebrated work on celestial signification, the *Monas Hieroglyphica*, the theoretical work essential for the development of Bureus' theosophic tool.[37] A note from 1610, "Adulruna refocillata," indicates that it was the copy stolen from Posen that finally made Bureus assimilate his special Rune ᛒ, "bjärkan," to the sign for Aries ♈, and then (quasi fluxu) by superimposing them, wedded it to the moon, sun, and cross. When the Monas is reshaped into the Adulruna, in this way, a solar centered crucified heart emerges, as if placed on the northern pole at the origo of the north-south axis. One wonders if Bureus had received any oral introduction to Dee's obscure text from someone who could have revealed to him that the Monas functions as a microcosmic signifier of the internal sensory sun by compressing many themes of western imperial power into an exalted spiritual object, as the sun of illumination passes from east to west.

Bureus kept on revising his Runic system throughout 1606–1609, first by pondering the role of the central character ᛒ, "bjärkan" and then, in April, 1610, by adding "kvistrunor," a Runic scheme for

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[37] The first edition of Dee's *Monas* (1564), taken at Posen in 1609, is now in Uppsala. Likewise, Kepler' copy of Brahe *De Nova Stella, anno 1572* (Uraniburg, 1593) and his own text *De Nova Stella* (Prague, 1606) in Stockholm were taken at Olmüsc in 1615. A copy of *De Revolutionibus* with Copernicus' notes (taken in 1626 at the convent Frombork outside Danzig) is now at Uppsala.

wooden sticks (further expanded in 1628), which he saw as a universal "alphabetum vegetale," an alphabet so natural that it may have preceded the carvings in stone. In 1626 (at the age of sixty), Bureus started a serious study of Arabic. He had come to believe that he could thereby unravel more biblical secrets for his *Adulruna*. It is clear from Bureus' notes that he made frequent use of Postel's work on the origin of languages, especially on the interrelations among the alphabets, and on the influence of Hebrew on the formation of Samaritan, Syriac, and Arabic, and the influence of Greek on Latin, Etruscan, and Gothic. In Postel's translation of the kabbalistic text *Sefer Jezira* (1552), a book that Bureus read in 1610, there is a significant conclusion: the reduction of the 22 characters in the Hebrew alphabet to combinations of the single letter Iod. Postel also purported to promulgate a paradoxical prophecy of Mohammed: that after a thousand years when the Christians will have come to know the Koran and to have learned Arabic, the rule of Islam will efface itself before the rule of Christ. Bureus apparently was stirred up by this idea. Believing in the myth of the sons of Japheth, and perhaps because manna is an Arabic word, he made a great fuss about the Book of Job as a Hebrew translation from the Arabic. He even reshaped the Runes into a flowing script similar to that of Arabic.[38]

Indeed, one cause of this interest in Islamic themes was the added impulse given to the Reformation by the spread throughout Europe of descriptions of the Koranic Apocalypse. Nicolas Cusanus' *Cribatio Alcoran* (1488) transmitted a review of the Koranic doctrines that displays how Adriel, the angel of death, will blow the next to the last Trumpet and then perish, whereupon the dead will rise to eternal life. As Sura 39:68 of the Koran says:

> Then the Trumpet will sound again and they shall rise and gaze around them. The world will shine with the Lights of her Lord, and the Book will be laid open.

With his Adulrunic theory already prepared, Bureus borrowed a copy of the first Rosicrucian tracts shortly after their first publication. He

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[38] Bureus' Diary, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, pp. 41, 112. On Postel's Iod, see MS. N 24, f. 56. Linköpings Stiftsbibliotek. Bureus gave Postel's *De Originibus linguarum* (Paris, 1538) to Stiernhielm for his work on the *Runa Svethica*. The prophecy on Mohammed in the 1553 edition is described by Carlos Gilly, in Guy Trédaniel, ed. *Guillaume Postel 1581–1981*, Ed. La Maisnie; Paris, 1985, p. 52.

had to return them to their anonymous owner in 1615, but he asked for new copies by writing to "sis-ne-Meus," the playwright and Livonian historiographer at Riga, Johannes Messenius. Bureus wanted Messenius to have one mysterious "T.E." send him the Rosicrucian statements, "the German tractates de extremis judicium." Apparently, T.E. had excellent contacts, for the major part of Bureus' *Ara Foederis Therapici* (n.p. 1616) consists of an *Assertio Fraternitatis RC* (Kassel, 1614), later revealed to have been written by the mysterious character Raphael Eglinus, first obtained on a visit to Hagenau on 22 September 1616, then translated into German by "I.S.B.N.," as the second printing of the *Ara Foederis* (Newenstadt, 1618) states.[39]

Paths to Adulrunic Theosophy: Arbatel, Agrippa, and Zoroasther

While Bureus began to learn Hebrew with a local priest in 1584, his serious studies occurred when he was in contact with Johannes Chesnecopherus, a Ramist scholar in Stockholm who was interested in numerology and mathematics. As one can see in his diary, Bureus continued to ponder the depths of the Hebrew language for some ten years, often in company with friends among the clergy. Moving to the court at Stockholm, Bureus sought to become an emblem-maker, a scribe, and a drawer of designs. As luck would have it, and as he records in his diary, he was one of the party who in 1602 uncovered some books hidden behind a wall in the former royal college at Gråmunkeholmen near the Castle.[40] The royal college had preserved many Catholic traditions, but in 1593 it had undergone a total Protestant purge. The old teachers had been thrown out in an attempt to abolish the Catholic influences that had flourished in Sweden during the reign of Johan III and his son Sigismund. Bureus made the right choice in seeking favour with the brother of King Johan, Duke Carl, who soon, in 1598, defeated Sigismund and drove him out of the land.

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[39] For the *Assertio FRC* and Raphael Eglinus, see W.-E. Peuckert (1928), p. 171. There is a German copy of the *ARA* (Newenstadt, 1618) in the Waller Collection, Uppsala UB. Schick suggests that I.S.B.N. was Iulius Sperber. Who was T.E.?

[40] On Bureus' studies in King John's Catholic College at Gråmunkeholmen closing down in 1593, Hans Hildebrand, *Minne av Johannes Bureus*, Stockholm, 1910, p. 10n. See also, G. E. Klemming, "Anteckningar af Johannes Tomae Agrivillensis Bureus", cited below as Bureus' diary, *Samlaren* (4), 1883, pp. 12–43, 71–126.

By 1600, Bureus could offer a simple method of deciphering the runes. He was now sent around the countryside to make inventories of the runestones. At the same time, he took an interest in local sorcerers. In 1601, when Bureus' political role was still rather weak, he had not been able to prevent the authorities from accusing his brother-in-law, Johannes Martin Bång, of sorcery and imprisoning him. Two women, who had "travelled to Heaven and Hell," had named Martin as their instructor. In the trial that put to an end the witchery of Blasius Britta from Wassunda, Martin was also put on the rack. Confessing under interrogation, he was finally executed on 15 January 1603. On the same day, another of Bureus' relatives, Erik Root, was found dead in his prison. "It is said," Bureus exclaims in horror, "that a rainfall of blood showered the castle yard."[41] Yet, one outcome of these associations with local sorcerers was that he could learn more from local traditions. He was shown an old Norwegian book of spells and was told of a magical contrivance to use when playing cards: One is bound to win, if only one manages to scratch five Runes onto the table without being seen.

Recognized in 1602 for his more mundane work on translating runestones, Johannes Bureus had a unique opportunity to influence the Swedish princes, Carl Philip and Gustav Adolf. The political value of a deeply grounded national history was fully realized by the Crown. Bureus was asked to demonstrate his alphabetic rendering of the Runes to foreign emissaries, beginning with a reception in the summer of 1602 for the envoys of the Dukal court of Hesse-Kassel, to whom Bureus offered a sketch of the Royal castle. Bureus was asked to join the Kassel-trained mathematician Nils Chesnecopherus' embassy to Germany; but after a visit by Danish diplomats, it was decided that loss of Bureus' skills could not be risked. To accomplish the task of translating ancient Scandinavian documents of law and kingship, he was given a post as a royal antiquarian, and it was now possible for him to take meals in the Chancery.[42]

Bureus' theosophic interests appear to have begun in 1591 with his reading of Arbatel's *De Magia Veteri* (Basel, 1575), because he says that it was through this book that his "desire for the Kabbalah" was

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[41] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[42] On the visit of emissars from Hesse-Kassel in 1602, see Bureus' diary, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 24. Note that Hananias and Azarias, Bureus' two first children with Margareta Bång, born in 1592 and 1593, both died within some few years.

kindled. Yet apart from naming the seven Olympian names for the planetary angels: Aratron, Bethor, Phaleg, Hagith, Och, Ophiel, and Phul, Arbatel's book of magic is not kabbalistic in any precise sense. Instead, it is closely related to the angelic magic set out by Agrippa of Nettesheim, and contains a list of nine kinds of magic, including Olympian, Hesiodic, Pythagorean, and Hermetic. More recently, Arbatel's treatise has been noted for its division of knowledge into theosophia and anthroposophia; it is in fact the first modern text in which the latter term is used.[43] In following Arbatel's magical instructions, Bureus was inspired to see himself as a prophet or a sage. He even began to assimilate himself to the angelic role of Ariel the Lion of God, one of the 72 spirits mentioned by Agrippa, and the name for one part of the bronzen altar of burnt offerings spoken of in 2 Chronicles 4.

Having read Gerard Dorn's edition of Paracelsus' ideas on the signatures of nature *Archidoxis magica* (Basel, 1570), Bureus started to object to Orthodox Aristotelian philosophy. To withstand the heathen explanation of man as a rational animal, he says, one must turn to Scripture and its sense of the soul as a harmonious and besouled entirety. Bureus thus argued for two ideas fairly common among Paracelsians, that were nevertheless controversial. These are the idea of the two natures of Christ, his status as the first and the second Adam, and the idea of the Homo Triplex, the idea of three natures in man. To show that the human persona is three-fold, Bureus offered examples from the biblical text. Thus, of Revelations 22:16, where it is said, "The Soul and the Bride say, come . . . whoever is thirsty let him come," he bluntly asks, who are they? The answer, he thinks, is given in Hebrews 4:12 where God's word is likened to a sharp sword that "separates the spirit from the soul, dividing joints and marrow." On these scriptural grounds, Bureus was confirmed in his belief in the three principles of human beings and he noted that their names in the very ancient Swedish-Gothic tongue make up the Paracelsian principle Sal(t): SAL—Siel, Anda, Lekamen; or thus,

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[43] Arbatel's work was printed at Basel by the publishing house of Perna as one of a series of publications arguing for magical reform as a way of spiritualizing the Calvinist standpoints. The editor was Theodor Zwinger, the Paracelsian systematist. Carlos Gilly, "Theodor Zwinger—Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation—Theodor Zwinger und die religiöse und kulturelle Krise seiner Zeit" *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* (77) 1977, esp. pp. 87–89.

S Siel <Spirit>, an image of Divine likeness. Homo spiritualis.

A Anda <Soul>, the sum of all human faculties (partes), a medium of which reason is a part. Homo rationalis.

L Lekamen <Body>, human flesh, of matter and blood. Homo carnalis.

These three are animated by a fourth principle, the inner sun, Lux, or the lifegiving light, that separates the pure from the impure, and that illuminates the whole. This light resolves, by bringing forth a solvent, sound (as in "sundheet, sanitatis," or sanity; thus punning on the role of the Paracelsian healer).[44] In Bureus' scheme the three human elements are gender-specific. The spirit is female, he says, and it relates to the soul and to the body as a maid with two suitors. If she chooses the soul then she shall dwell in the light as a spiritual being, but if she chooses the body or flesh she shall be brought into darkness. Bonded in a proper way with the soul, the spirit binds the ethereal soul and the bodily flesh together, making a spiritual body, and a harmonius whole. Also, in a series of poetic songs, *Nymärewijsor*, Bureus spelled out that the spirit when joined to the soul in this way is like a queen who lacks nothing, or like a bride ready to marry the son of a king.[45]

Bureus' idea of a tripartite soul is not unusual in the Hermetic tradition. The bridal mysticism was part of the alchemical worldview presented in numerous texts and by J. V. Andreae in his widely read text, *The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz*. Bureus read this pamphlet no later than 1617, thus about four years after his experience with the crucified heart. I consider the context of Andreae's text more closely in the next chapter, but note here that Bureus from earlier on had developed a Manichean view of the soul through reading Johan Jessenius' commentary on *Zoroasther* (Wittenberg, 1593). Excerpting 48 pages of material from this book in 1595, Bureus moved on to investigate the various forms of angelic magic found in Arbatel's *De Magia Veteri*. It was hardly these sources alone, however, that in 1604 made Bureus dream of Lady Sophia. She held

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[44] Bureus' MS. F.a.9. f. 4. KB, Stockholm. See also Hans Hildebrand (1910), pp. 277–279.

[45] Johannes Bureus, *Nymärewijsor*, Stockholm, 1638. Cf. Lindroth (1943), pp. 427, 223.

a runic stick in her hand, and while Bureus offered her an open book, two ignorant court jesters at the same time sat asleep on her other side.[46]

Bureus took many notes from his readings of the Christian kabbalists. Much of his Gothic theosophy may even stem from readings found behind that wall on Gråmunkeholmen in 1602, for by 1605, Bureus had read two outstanding authors on Joachite interpretation, Jacob Brocardo, who sets out an interpretation of the seven seals of Revelations by pointing to a great European council of reformers (patterned on the republic of Venice), and Postel, whose ideas also develop in this direction.[47]

Although inspired by the rapidity of conquests in the Baltic, and conducted through the comparison of linguistic differences among the Baltic peoples, Bureus' antiquarian studies depend on a pre-modern revolutionary "episteme", a time-bound and essentially revelatory way to organize the field of knowledge.[48] Postel's Semito-Gallic Renaissance linguistics and John Dee's naval science for British domination of the Atlantic were both couched in the lore of a Celtic revival. In this imaginary world, the Gallic monarchs and the Welsh Tudors were predestined by cyclical effluence to gain power on an imperial axis running from east to west, mythically underpinned by an even more primary bardic cultural flow from the Ile-de-France to Jerusalem.[49]

With his Runic speculation, Bureus similarly strove to find a language for a renewed articulation of power and order in the Baltic, placing ancient Uppsala in the center as an original cultural sun. In so doing, his antiquarian concerns set a framework for new experi-

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[46] The dream image of Lady Wisdom is in Bureus' MS. F.a.9. inscribed 13 March 1604, cf. his diary, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 35.

[47] The copy of Brocardo's *Mystica et prophetica libri Levitici interpretatio* (Paris, 1580) at KB in Stockholm is heavily annotated in Latin. Later, this copy was in the custody of the Swedish noble family Rosenhane. Note that Bureus' party to the monastery included Johan Jöransson Rosenhane.

[48] The assertion, "Mount Helicon is in Scandinavia", may be regarded as a neo-Gothic "objet trouvé". Though false, there were rules governing its location in the Gothic scheme. The occasions for its use would show its inter-discursive nature, i.e., its dependence on wide epistemological patterns (biblical, mythografic, linguistic, classificatory). Cf. Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, New York, 1972, Ch. III, ii: a–b and IV, vi: e–f.

[49] On British rights to lands in the Atlantic see John Dee, *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfecte Art of Navigation* (London, 1577). I thank Robert Cunningham for insights into the east-west movement as an extension, I would like to add, to the movement found in *La Galliade* (1578).

ences. Parallel to developing theosophic aspects of his Runic scheme, Bureus polished up his Runic ABC. He had begun to see the Runic texts as having a threefold significance. He correlated the apparent surface meaning of the Runic script to two other interpretative realms, thus creating three levels: 1. the Runic, 2. the Adulrunic, and 3. the Alrunic. The first literal level is chiseled into the stones. Taken literally, Runic texts make typical reference to sacred microcosmic events, such as the claiming of land or the remembrance of the dead. The second level, however, is entirely interpretative. According to Bureus, it conveys the glory of macrocosmic structures, such as the majesty and kingship described in his Gothic manual *Adulruna Rediviva.* The third, Alrunic, level of a Runic text is thought to represent the divine aspects of nature in a more general way. Bureus describes it as "catholic," to be used to interpret the available stock of myths and prophecies universally, i.e., for all time and all peoples, but from the perspective of the Hyperboreans.[50] With a slightly different emphasis, he drew a scholastic chart of how these levels interrelate as Hebrew Law relates to the rabbinical commentaries (adding a fourth level, the adhlarunic):

Cabalam { Runa literales; Alruna spirituales { Talmud Adulruna; Cabala Adhlaruna

The latter two levels are to be used to develop themes allegorically (by way of myth) and anagogically (by spiritual symbols). On all interpretative levels, and especially on the second and third, Bureus produced Gothic thinking relevant to the enterprise of a "dominium maris Baltici." For example, he distributed many copies of his Runic book of ABC, in which he transliterates the Lord's prayer, published in several editions between 1611 and 1624. However, Bureus harkened back to linguistic hypotheses by arguing that certain discoveries in the systems of language, nature, and ancient history held out new revelations in the cosmic plan. As a keen reader of this type, Bureus

[50] This triple division is called "Thronus Triunus in Theatro" and is associated with the book of life "ALIUS LIBER apertus est q. est LIBER VITAE" of Revelations 20:11. Trinities like these are found in variety of Bureus' manuscripts, here f. 173v. MS. N 24, at Linköpings Stiftsbibliotek.

was quick to develop his own version of the scenario, with information taken from the ancient Runes and confirmed by that song he had heard at Stora Tuna about closing up the streams.

Bureus' role as antiquarian of the Swedish court has been somewhat obscured, or over-shadowed, by more recent historiographic concentration on the Stoic elements in the northern military renaissance. As Gerhard Oestreich and others have shown, the perception in Sweden was that to the south in the European mainland, builders of the Catholic Habsburg Empire successfully governed with Holy Roman Law. By tradition, the Swedish legal order used Roman Law as a parallel source of justice and now Axel Oxenstierna sought scholars capable of moving these double principles toward a more effective administrative use. The intervention of the Swedes in the Baltic region had then to rest on a legal reform and its cultural animation. But as the neo-Stoic scholars brought to Sweden were to realize, the old model of praise for Latin ancestory and Germanic practises would not move the Baltic peoples.[51] To separate the Baltic Germans, Scandinavians, Finns, and Livonians from the Holy Roman realm of influence, it was not enough simply to teach Tacitus' *Germania*, nor even to teach the detailed historiography of the Gothic peoples set out by Olaus Magnus in 1552. To have the "dominium maris Baltici" prevail with any permanence, the new territories needed to be integrated into a shared identity and common purpose, and a new collective identitity had to be inculcated in the new lands across the Baltic to reinforce the changes of institutional practises. An act of profound self-transformation was necessary, one requiring a new vocabulary for legitimating the regime.[52]

During 11–13 March 1617, therefore, Bureus gave a three day course at Uppsala on the apocalyptic meaning of the *Buccina*. Eleven students attended the lectures, seven on the first day, ten on the second, and seven on the last. They included Johannes Matthiae and Jacob Hunterus, Lars Ambjörn Scarin, Anders Zebrygen, and Carl Horn.[53] If not many were eager to listen, it was with orations such

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[51] For example, in 1643 Scheffer's companion from Strassbourg, the classical historian Johann Heinrich Boecler, was beaten up and thrown out of the window by his students at Uppsala, because they found his lectures too tedious. Boecler had called them "stupid asses." Gerhard Oestreich, *Neo-Stoicism and the Modern State*, Cambridge University Press; Cambridge, 1982, pp. 109ff.

[52] This awareness is also expressed in *A History of Liwonia*, (s.l., 1650) reprinted in Scheffer (1718), p. 380.

[53] Bureus' diary, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 43.

as these that Bureus attracted his most congenial student, the poet Jöran Cuprimontanus Lilja (later ennobled Georg Stiernhielm). Stiernhielm married Bureus' niece in 1629 and was to receive Bureus' most lavishly illustrated manuscript *Antiquitates Scanziana*, a manuscript that was a main inspiration for Stiernhielm's majestic unpublished linguistic work *Runa Suethica*. Only an outline of Stiernhielm's work was ever published, but he sent copies of it to the Royal Society in England and it was later reprinted in a compendium of Germanic linguistics collected by Daniel Morhof.[54]

Through a friend in the early summer of 1618, Bureus had one of his texts consecrated on the high altar in the Uppsala Dome. Seeking a larger audience, on 30 July, he took a further step and someone set up a placard on the door to the Dome, a placard of prophecy that remained there for four days. It offered this harsh admonishment:

> S. Birgitta Extravagantium c. 77 comminato gravis
> Regni Svecia. Filius Dei loquitur: Arabo terram istam
> IUDICIO et TRIBULATIONE, DoneC HabItantes aDDiscant
> petere MIserICorDIam DeI. 7473 quid? sera. adde. clavum
> 1822, habebis 5618 thesaurum.

In this untranslatable piece of millenarian calculation one reaches a set of numbers showing the year for the final Judgement. While it is not entirely clear from Bureus' notes that he was the author of the placard at Uppsala, this is more plausible than that there were other concealed Rosicrucians there. Bureus has copied the text in his diary and immediately inserts a note in Swedish, stating "1658, 40 years hereafter," a reference to Paracelsus. One thing is certain. The posting the placard on the Dome constituted a public call for a renewed awareness of historical events. In her own extravagant way, St. Bridget had prophecized a future war between Germany and France that would be resolved by a coming European saviour, but the exact timing of this disastrous event had been much in debate; Rosicrucians were also aware that Paracelsus had made similar predictions for "58". Five days after posting the placard, Bureus was called in. Authorities in the Church condemned his ideas on the coming end as fantasies, "nugas et errores."[55] After the

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[54] D. G. Morhof, *Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache*, Frankfurt, 1678.

[55] Bureus' diary, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 70. St. Bridgets' German/French scenario from 1360 to resolve the Hundred Years' War was continuosly reshaped, as in Lichtenberg's popular fifteenth-century book of sayings.

interrogation, Bureus was forced to seek other, more private channels through which to disseminate his ideas. Symptomatic of the rejection Bureus felt at the University was his dream on Christmas day, 1620. It was set in a priestly seminar in which a sentence from John the Evangelist was discussed. He knew that it derived from Trismegistos and in the dream told the Archbishop of the priest's errors; but the Archbishop only smiled at him. Only much later, in a public disputation at Uppsala, *De principiis constitutivis lapidis philosophicae*, in 1644, would Paracelsus' calculation for 1658 be reconfirmed by Johannes Franck, the anatomist. Franck pointed out that Paracelsus' forecasts were added to by the alchemical prophecy of the Polish adept Michael Sendivogius, i.e., on the rise in the north of a master in metallurgic crafts, Elias Artista.[56] Bureus' prophetic visions were thus shared by many in a Paracelsian tradition who hoped that the Iron Age of warfare was to be consummated by a dissolution of forces and then would reconfigure into the Golden Age, the age in which peoples in whom the same spirits flowed would carry the day, the age that would be heralded by Eos, the rising morning-star. Steadfast in his dreams, on the day of his condemnation, Bureus therefore wrote bitterly: "But after me, EOA will remain." In his diary, EOA is used as a mark for days of particular exaltation, as when he wrote "EOA Excitans," on 5 Nov. 1609.[57]

Yet, Bureus' adulrunic instructions were not subversive, but rather were nationalist and monarchical. Being circumspect, Bureus was never publically accused of Rosicrucian heresy, but he certainly entertained ideas that were unacceptable. He wrote on the two bodies of Christ, a visible body and an elementary or spiritual body, the latter similar to that of Adam before the fall. Lindroth argues that Bureus did not go as far as some German contemporaries to teach that Christ is a mere spirit in a spiritual body, a teaching that would have implied that Christ was a gnostic entity separate from normal human form.[58] Bureus did, however, write that everyone who is in Christ is a new being, regenerate and reborn, for whom the exte-

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[56] See Franck (1644), paragraph 38. Franck had studied with Daniel Sennert at Wittenberg and probably knew Benedict Figulus' 1606 edition of Sendivogius. Sten Lindroth (1943), p. 305.

[57] Bureus' diary, *Samlaren* (4), 1883, p. 37. Cf. MS. F.a.9. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm.

[58] Sten Lindroth (1943), pp. 168–170.

rior body has been destroyed and only the inward person remains. The newborn assumes a new angelic name, a practise signalled by the Rosicrucian documents in which Bureus uses anagrams, for example Ierubbabel, the one who turns his back on Babel.[59]

The Growth of the Adulruna Rediviva

The work on the *Adulruna* was long and laborious. On 15 April 1615—he remembered it quite exactly—Bureus had become convinced that he had found the key for solving a mystery that long had plagued him, that of: "Runa oriente crus promissus, Scanzianorum pastor et petra."[60] On this date, he had understood that his discovery of the exact method for the construction of the Runes ought to be announced in a document adressed to the Rosicrucians. The method also had led him to two fundamental insignia:

"Sagitta Abarides qui totum orbem peragrabat" ᚴ

and

"Signum foederis tres coronae" ᛉ

Abaris' arrow was one of a piece with the wisdom of Zamolxes the magician, or as Bureus wrote, of the congregator, "Samlhoxes." In his *FaMa e sCanzIa reDUX*, Bureus played on the arrow of Genesis 49:24 and Isaiah 16:18. The arrow is made up of Runic letters and would lead the way for those who wanted to participate in a Lutheran regeneration and Hyperborean revival in the north, since these peoples should know and revere the origin of their abecedarian scripts.[61] The "signum foederis," on the other hand, had been placed in a halo of light on the altar that adorned the frontispiece of his first Rosicrucian pamphlet, the *Ara Foederis Therapici F.X.R.* Apart from being a compound of Runic characters, the sign was also a mark for his perception of the "sponsae ecclesiae", or the spiritual bride in mystical union, as shown in Bureus' description of his sublime mystical experience at Stora Tuna. The experience of 1613 forms

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[59] Bureus' *FaMa* (1616), p. 4.
[60] Bureus' diary, 1612 & 1643, *Samlaren* (4) MS. F.a.3. f. 67.
[61] Bureus' *FaMa* (1616), p. 16.

the basis for his announcements in the *FaMa*, and he seems to have then conceived the full majestic role played by the *Adulruna* in a Rosicrucian scheme. Later he thought that the "signum tres coronae" was best to be placed in the hands of the Nordic Sibyl adorning the Tropheum Upsalicum.[62] Her name is Alruna, and Postel had understood her as a northern druidess.

FaMa e sCanzIA reDUX: EU–ropa and EUR–hopa

The immediate response to Bureus' pamphlets in 1616 was a recognition that there were Scandinavian thinkers who supported the European Rosicrucian cause. In later chapters, I investigate his role as royal antiquarian during the series of conflicts ravishing Germany in 1619–1648. In about 1643, Bureus realized that his system must be revised to fit the diplomatic attempts to bring about peace. He now worked out a dedication copy of his new system directly for Queen Christina, entitled *Adulruna Redi-Viva.* In this edition, he stressed ideas of Hermetic Pansophism that he had reached in an earlier variant entitled: "Adulruna id est Catholica nominatur sapientiae incarnatae virgo a cubiculis famula."[63]

In this new system, Bureus quotes various sources to show that the ancients must have known the cross (Mercurius, Zoroaster, Tertullian, Minucius Felix); and that the Hyperboreans had wandered with their wisdom to the north (Plato, Orpheus, Apollodorus), where they had constructed the Runes with a special gnomic device revealed only to them. These events were mythically remembered by the Sibylline Oracles.[64]

Bureus then offered the special gnomon by which the Runes must have been constructed, the Adulruna, and now claimed that it was revealed to him as "the inner ring of edges around the wound, stung through by the three fatherly spires of the judge." To commemorate his discovery, Bureus wanted to build a new monument depict-

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[62] MS. F.a.3. f. 156v, 145, 41. Bureus to Johannes Terserus, 3 December, 1614, MS. K2, Uppsala UB.

[63] MS. F.a.3. f. 60, 62. "Catholic" means general, "pansophic". Is there a connection between Bureus' *Adulruna* (1643) and the Queen's feverish insights in 1648? To Adler Salvius and the "Order of Immanuel" in 1650? Cf. Åkerman (1991), pp. 144, 147, 149.

[64] *Ibid.*, f. 71, 187. See also Sten Lindroth (1943), pp. 241–243.

ing the descending Runic bloc and its revelatory reconfiguration on a flat plate of the Futhark, the protean alphabet. Although these cultural ideas about Runic emblems were largely ignored by the new authorities, Bureus reworked them idefatiguably.

Three years later, through contacts with the mystic Abraham van Franckenberg in Amsterdam, Johannes Bureus' personal fame rose to such a point that he was to be numbered among the Christian kabbalist sages of the nations, sages such as Joachim di Fiore, Pico, Reuchlin, Agrippa, Francesco Giorgi, Giordano Bruno, Petrus Bongus, Julius Sperber, and Philip Ziegler. The list was appended to a new edition of Guillaume Postel's *Absconditorum a Constitutione Mundi Clavis* (Amsterdam, 1646, 1st ed. Paris, 1553), a mystical text on the seven ages presented by Franckenberg to the court of Wladislaus IV in Poland.[65] The list includes Petrus Bongus, the author of *De numeris mysteriis senario & septenario* on Pythagorean number theory, and Julius Sperber of Anhalt-Dessau, author of *Echo der von Gott hocherleuteren Fraternitet* (Danzig, 1615). Philip Ziegler, on the other hand, was known as a subversive radical in Basel, Worms, Speier, and Strassburg, from which last he was exiled in 1617 because he had pretended to be "König Rosae Crucis." The alchemist at Hesse, Benedict Figulus, met him in the winter of the same year. After travels to Frankfurt in 1620, Ziegler went to Holstein, Denmark, Sweden, Bern, France, and Prague, perhaps causing the Parisian rumour of 1623 that thirty-six Rosicrucians circulated in Europe; six had suposedly lodged at the Marest du Temple in the Faubourgs Saint-Germain, but had left without paying, while four had gone to Sweden.[66]

After drawing Bureus into this radical kabbalist company, Franckenberg ends his edition with an Oriental-Pythagorean post-script that displays the key of David that contains the secrets of Divine kingship, with the announcement:

> Salve, Philomysta. We offer you the key to the innermost sanctuary, but purify yourself before you move towards the Divine: this is the

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[65] Bureus owned a copy of Postel's Latin translation, *Abrahami Patriarcha Sepher Jetzira sive formationis mundi*, Paris, 1552. Cf. Postel's *Clavis*, Amsterdam, 1646, pp. 121ff., also in a recent Italian edition *La Chiave delle Cose Nascoste*, Dioscuri; Genoa, 1987, pp. 119ff. Marion Kuntz has pointed out to me that van Franckenberg's MS. copy of Postel's *Clavis* in the Sloane collection of the British Museum is marked "from the Rosicrucian school."

[66] Paul Tannery, ed. *Correspondence de Mersenne*, Presse Universitaire; Paris, 1945, vol. 1, p. 154n.

> law. Learn of Universal sapience, of the tetrachord and of Apollo's chariot, the wheel of sapience, and you will more easily understand the science of the Mercabah, the chariot of Isra-El, a reliquary cherubinic, or biblical.[67]

The Pythagorean tetrachord and the chariot of Apollo is in this statement set beside the Mercabah mysticism of the kabbalists, perhaps to suggest that knowledge of musical consonance and poetry can enhance the angelic visions of the Bible. The editors urge, that more grain of the same meal, more symbolic expositions of the Hebrew kabbalist text *Sefer Jezira*, could be culled from Bureus' work. They are probably referring to his recent book *The Roar of the Northern Lion, that by measuring the bronzen altar reveals the time-reckoning of Scripture* (s.l., 1646), in which Bureus sees an immediate end of the present era, and sets out a final key to the visions of Ezekiel and the Book of Revelations.[68] The Key he offers is the following:

1. the Man with the fire	1396	Johan Huss
2. the Oxen with the voices	1530	Martin Luther
3. the Lion with the thunder	1614	J. T. A. B(ureus)
4. the Eagle with the earthquake	1647	Habsburg defeat
5. the double edged Sword	1673	Judicium

The Paracelsian background to this roar of prophecy has been brilliantly dealt with in Johan Nordström's studies published in Uppsala in 1934.[69] Later, in 1943, Sten Lindroth pointed out that the initials do not simply mean Johannes Tomae Agrivillensis Bureus, but also Johannes Theophrastus Aracelsus Bureus, showing that Bureus, as one of the few genuine Rosicrucians, was identifying himself with Paracelsus. Inspired by Revelations 2:17, he also used a new seal: Iesu Tua Bonitate Absorbeas. The Lutheran mysticism of the Lamb

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[67] Salve Philomysta. Clavis tibi damus ad interiora domus ad Divos enim Caste advento. Lex est: Pana, Tetrachordon, aut Quadrigam Apollinis sapientia Rotis, sapientiam Mercabah sive currum Isra-ELis, cum reliquis Kerubinicae, sive Biblicae . . . *Clavis* (1646) Appendix (written by Franckenberg) section 1.

[68] *Nordlandalejonsens rytande som av kopparaltarens mätning uppenbarar skrifternes tijdaräkning*, s.l., 1644, p. 86. In 1670, Johannes Scheffer translated the title into Latin "Rugitum Leonis septentrionalis, revelatum ex mensuratione altaris Aenei".

[69] Johan Nordström, "Lejonet från Norden", *De Yverbornes Ö*, Rudbeckstudier; Uppsala, 1934.

is further conveyed in his early use of exlibris: Insidenti Throno Agnoque Benedectio.

There is, however, another document, now at Leiden, of which no previous Swedish scholars have been aware. In 1646, van Franckenberg sent yet another transcription of Bureus' *FaMa* to an unknown receiver in the Netherlands, who made an exquisite hand drawn and deciphered copy. The manuscript contains several marginal notes that Bureus himself had offered to Franckenberg, thus producing new symbolism that now seems essential to understanding his unfolding of the seven apocalyptic trumpets and their heralding of a new European seat of power. For example, these secret annotations explain the cryptic chapter heading that through the years has distracted many readers, "Ex asInI ManDIbuLA IUDICIUM—a judgment from the jawbone of the Ass," which turns out to be a reference to Balaam's prophecy. According to the Book of Judges, Balaam was riding his ass when the animal stopped and wanted to go no further; before anyone else could interpret the signs, the ass had seen the coming of the Messiah. Bureus' line is in fact a combined chronogram (by adding the Latin numerals) pointing to 1568, the year of coronation of the Swedish King Johan III, and, significantly, to 1613.[70]

It seems clear, then, that Bureus was aquainted with the Celto-Gallic ideas of Guillaume Postel and actively used them for his Rosicrucian pamphlets. To what degree, then, did these imperial structures influence the Tübingen Rosicrucians? As we shall see in later chapters, an analysis of this question sheds light even as we adress the more traditional sources for the Rosicrucian documents.

In Franckenberg's copy of Bureus' *FaMa* traditional elements also occur. Luther's crest with a black cross on a red heart upon a white rose is set beside an expansion on the letters, F.R.C., Futurae Reformatio Catholicae, signifying a hope for a future Universal Reformation, similar to that heralded by the Tübingen texts.[71] Luther saw his crest as based on a more abstract fourfold idea: Circulus, rosa,

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[70] Cod. N 157 B. Leiden UB. A copy of the *ARA Foederis F.X.R.* is also included, Paracelsus signat stern (vitriol) imposed on the rose can clearly be seen. The package includes Neander's documents on the Gnostic sayings of Christ, an essay by Castellio, and Postel's *Candelabri Typici.*

[71] Catholic means general, universal. The Lutheran pansophism involved in the Rosicrucian reform may have been inspired by Augustinian or Jesuit mystical techniques, but emerged as a third force unaligned to all forms of orthodoxy.

Cor, Crux—explaining that they stood for "consummatum gaudium cordis in cruce," the joyful consummation of the heart in the cross.[72] To discern the impact of the Reformation, Bureus goes into apocalyptic calculations based on events and terms stated in Hebrew and Greek: the year 135 A.D. marks the end of the Jewish wars as described by Josephus; added to the number 1260 (thanatos) from Revelations 11:3, they yield 1395, or the year of inquisition at Erfurt against Johan Huss, the first European reformer. Matching this with 1396 as the sum for each of the the Greek words "Europia", "eurooia" (arrogance), and "europes" (darkness), one reaches an obvious condemnation of the old order.

Bureus is inspired by the concept of KOGHIR, the adulrunic quiver used for the arrows brought by Abaris, the Gothic magician. Through this art of seven letters, and by means of a plainly sexual metaphor, the spirit of life is brought back into "the sterile uterus of Europe." He concludes that reformers cannot just go on shouting Eu-ro-pa, instead, one must gather the council together, as in Eur-hopa, as if with a handful of arrows put in a KOGHIR.[73]

The 1290 days from Daniel 12:11 are shown to amount to the Greek word *lychnis* (light, illumination), while the 1335 days of Daniel 12:12 amount to the mystical number found in the Greek *kriseos* (judgment). At an important point, the reader is referred to the mystical interpretations of Paul Lautensack, the painter and organist from Nüremberg who in 1533 circulated an illustrated apocalyptic manuscript, *De Opere Mirabili*, portraying Christ and his starry angels. This highly mystical text was denied publication during the Reformation, but was published with writings of Valentin Weigel in 1618 at Frankfurt by Lucas Jennis, the Rosicrucian printer.

Bureus finally moves to the year of IVDICIUM, that he says was personally fulfilled for him in 1613 (at age 49) when he heard that voice singing: RIVos IaM CLaVDe PVEr sat prata bIberVnt—Close up the streams, young boy, for the meadows have drunk themselves full. If to the year 1613 is added half of the prescribed 120 years of penitence, 60, one attains 1673 as the final year of the Lord. Rejoice, Bureus exclaims, for these are the times of "panthenios

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[72] J. W. Montgomery (1973), p. 173, quoting the "Mysterium sigilli D.M.L." of Luther's *Tabletalks* III, 3436.

[73] Bureus employs a word that he believes to stem from the ancient Japheto-Gothic language. He believes Abaris' mission to be one of spreading the Runes, and he sees Scandinavia as the "vagina gentium", the Ur-heim of European culture.

gnathos," of everlasting grace, when Eliahuh will pour his balm according to the rule of the seven-branched candlestick, scattering a cream that flows as the scent from Christ's resurrection, as declared (Bureus cryptically points out) in 1582. Behold, for this is the roar of ARIEL, the Lion of God. Still, Bureus warns of the apostolic division between Iacob Andreae and Theodore Beza, made plain in 1586 when the Lutheran-Calvinist positions were discussed at the Mömpelgard Colloquium at Strassburg. Yet, Bureus is sure, the great reforming council of Europe will finally congregate. Replace the the Lily in the Psalms with the rose and the deserts will be brought to flowering, as in Isaiah 35:1. He signs his document as it began, "Bisvati," in thy salvation, as in Psalms 91:16, or spelled out: Beati immaculati sub umbra alarum tuarum Jehovah—Blessed without stain under the shadows of thy wings, O Lord.[74] –

[74] The years 1582 and 1586 are not explained. However, Jacob Andreae and Theodore Beza met at "the Mömpelgard Colloquium" at Strassburg in 1586 to discuss the Augsburg Confession. Bureus also refers to Robert Fludd's *Tractatus apologeticus* (1617), to his report of the great conjunction between Saturn and Jupiter below the comet in Serpentario 1603/04.

CHAPTER TWO

AT THE ORIGINS OF THE ROSICRUCIANS

Hye lygt begraben Venus, dye schön Fraw,
so manchen Hoen Man umb Glück,
Ehr, Segen, und Wolfart gebracht hatt.
(in cipher, Chymische Hochzeit)

The universe of reference to the Rosicrucian fiction is the call for a brotherhood, a Christian kabbalist assembly of reformers prepared to spread support for a wave of illumination and religious change throughout Europe. But if the advance of Rosicrucian thinking is difficult to map after the printing of the *Fama* in Kassel 1614, the origin of these ideas is even more in dispute. It is often maintained that the exciting thesis set forth by Frances Yates in her book on the Rosicrucian Enlightenment is seriously flawed. First, Rosicrucianism never was the successive unfolding of a clearly held together programme of scientific reform that she believed it to be. Second, a number of scholars point out that the early British influence on the Würtemberg Rosicrucians was overemphasized, particularly when Yates concentrated on John Dee and derived the Rosicrucian name from the red cross of St. George, taken together with the Tudor roses of England.[1] While the poetic verse on the Red Cross knight in Edmund Spencer's *The Fairie Queen* has some resemblance to the Rosicrucian chivalrous quest, and while Spencer's Castle of Alma is a poetic microcosm of learning with some resemblance to the Rosicrucian tomb, there is little concrete evidence to support Yates' explicitely stated hypotheses. If one looks closer at her arguments, however, beginning with her interest in the Valois tapestries, one sees that she was reaching for a connection to French court culture and dynastic politics. She felt that Spencer's poetic passages convey the militant atmosphere of the Elizabethan Leicester-Sidney-circle. This militancy centered on forging a Protestant union with the German Princes in view of the British campaign in the United Provinces in

[1] Frances Yates (1986), pp. 4, 10, 221.

1586, the legacy of which would be preserved in the legend of Christian Rosencreutz. In her focus on the interplay of poetry and culture, Yates staked much on the hope that more would be found out concerning Philip Sidney's Dutch, German, and French contacts.

As opposed to Yates' view, recent scholars point out that although the Rosicrucian pamphlets first appeared in print in 1614–15, they were not specifically written in political support of the marriage at Heidelberg in 1613 between Fredrik V of Würtemberg and Princess Elisabeth Stuart, a marriage calculated to eventually strengthen the Protestant presence in Central and Eastern Europe. Most interpreters do agree, however, that the Rosicrucian texts are part of a more profound central European context, a context rooted in late sixteenth-century Paracelsism and enheartened by theosophy, magic, Christian Kabbalah, and alchemical ideas that at first glance have nothing to do with Dee's British Imperialism.

The Doubted Role of J. V. Andreae

The representation of the alchemical initiatory process in Johan Valentin Andreae's *Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz* (Strassburg, 1616) was believed by Yates to be inspired by the Royal wedding at Heidelberg in 1613. She suspected that Andreae's references to an Order of the Golden Stone was adapted from the adoption of Fredrick of Würtemberg into the Order of the Garter in 1603, when an English theatre company visited Heidelberg. English stage-settings had already been shown to have influenced Andreae's youthful plays *Esther* and *Hyacinth* of 1602–1603.[2] More recently, on the other hand, Regine Frey-Jaun has argued that although Andreae's spiritual allegory follows a seven-fold pattern of composition, it is not really Rosicrucian. The alchemical process of initiation taught in the *Hochzeit* has almost nothing in common with the ideas of the *Fama*.[3] Andreae speaks of the Red Rose knight, a theme similar to Spencer's Red Cross knight. Yet, Frey-Jaun points out that Andreae drew this figure

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[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 60ff., 90. See "J. V. Andreae" in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. J. V. Andreae, *The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz*, English translation by Jocelyn Goodwin, with introduction by Adam McLean, Phanes Press; Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1984, 2nd ed., 1991.

[3] Regine Frey-Jaun, *Die Berufung des Türhüters—Zur Chymische Hochzeit Christian Rosencreutz*, Peter Lang; Bern, 1989, pp. 18, 24.

out of his own family crest, the Cross of St. Andrew with four roses, a crest composed by his grandfather Jakob Andreae, author of the last of the Reformation confessions, the Lutheran *Formula of Concord* of 1576. In framing the text, Johan Valentin may even have thought of his two elder brothers whom he joined for theological studies in Tübingen in 1602. The first version of his fiction was probably written in 1603/1605, merely to express a "post-reformation millenarianism within an intolerant milieu of Lutheran Pietism, by using an alchemical theology with Paracelsian, Osiandrian, and Weigelian themes."[4]

Then, after Andreae's journey to Italy, France, and Switzerland in 1610/11, new material was brought in, not from Shakespeare's *A Winters Tale* and *Cymbeline* as hinted at by Paul Arnold and Frances Yates, but from esoteric themes in Italian mystery drama.[5] Any symbolism in the *Chemical Wedding* similar to that of the Rosicrucian *Fama* appears superficial, and the dramatic links to England can be severed. Frey-Jaun's sceptical arguments are not meant to deny that Andreae wrote the *Fama*—he admits that he did in his autobiography—but to show that he changed his mind about its value soon after its publication at Kassel in 1614.

Yates' third, even more consequential claim is that the secret doctrine of the Rosicrucian documents is encapsuled in their use of the *Monas* sign taken from John Dee's natural philosophy. But a recent critic, Roland Edighoffer, argues that Andreae's application of Dee's *Monas* sign in the *Chemical Wedding* derives merely from its occurrence on the gate to the fortified city of wisdom displayed in Heinrich Khunrath's theosophic summation *Amphitheatrum Aethernae Sapientiae* (Frankfurt, 1595, 2nd ed. Hanau, 1609), a tract that Andreae certainly read and from which he quotes the motto "e millibus vix uni." The elaborate doctrine behind the construction of the *Monas* is, however, not at all explained in Khunrath's summation.[6]

The recently formulated doubts on Andreae's authorship of the

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[4] Description of Frey-Jaun's conclusions in Bruce T. Moran, "The Alchemical World of the German Court—occult philosophy and alchemical medicine in the circle of Moritz of Hesse-Cassel, 1572–1632." *Sudhoffs Archiv* 29, 1991, pp. 94, 96.

[5] Paul Arnold, *Esotérisme de Shakespeare*, Paris, 1955. Frances Yates, *Shakespeare's Last Plays: A New Approach*, London, 1975. For criticism of these generally unaccepted speculations, see Regine Frey-Jaun (1989), pp. 58–59, 142.

[6] For criticism of Yates' "unacceptable suppositions" see Paul Arnold (1990), pp. 355 n. 64, 358 n. 94 and Roland Edighoffer, *Le Rose-Croix et société idéale selon J. V. Andreae*, Arma Artis; Neully-sur-Seine, 1986. Cf. Åkerman (1991), pp. 151–152.

Fama stem from his own disavowal of the movement. In a later phase, he dismissed the Rosicrucian fiction as a joke, a "ludibrium." Also, in his extant writings, there is no unambiguous reference to his Rosicrucian authorship. He instead shows a polemical attitude, and in 1617, he ridicules predictive astronomy and Rosicrucian ideas in his plays *Menippus* and *Turbo*. Moreover, in his *Mythologiae Christianae* of 1619, Andreae lists a number of apocalyptic authors whom he regards as deluded, including the spectacular apocalypticists Paul Lautensack, Guillaume Postel, Jacob Brocardo, Aegidius Gutman, Simon Studion, and even his former friend Tobias Hess. This notwithstanding that they all appear to have been part of the tradition that sets the millenarian tone of the Rosicrucian pamphlets. We are thus left with the ostensible scenario that the printers of the *Fama* borrowed Andreae's fiction of "Christian Rosencreutz," but without concern for the other elements of the doctrine presented in the *Chemical Wedding* at the time of its printing in 1616 at Strassburg.[7]

Still, Frey-Jaun agrees that Andreae's early wedding symbolism represents a process of Lutheran mysticism by which the human soul is wedded to aspects of its spirit ("sponsus et sponsa"). She shows that Andreae's text goes beyond this aspect in order to structure the knight's quest for a salvatory female principle to which he, on the final day of his seven-day journey, pledges to become the guard and porter. The red rose knight assumes the role of gatekeeper to the door of the royal garden and to its Olympic Tower, underneath which he now knows Venus lies buried.

The mystical allegory of the door and its porter alludes to John 10:1–9, but Frey-Jaun also traces influences in Andreae's text from Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphilli* (1499), the truly expressive Renaissance dream-journal with hieroglyphic emblems exemplifying love themes related to Jean de Meung's *Roman de la Rose*. Colonna even illustrates the quest with a seven-pillared Venus Temple and the Cross of St. Andrew. The themes of sex and sublimation, and the repression of the desire for the feminine principle, have a complicated relationship to the Reformation, when the demand for celibacy among the clergy was removed. It has been argued that

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[7] Cf. J. W. Montgomery, *Cross and Crucible—Johann Valentin Andreae—Phoenix of the Theologians*, Martinus Nijhoff; The Hague, 1973. Andreae knew Rosicrucianism well, he speaks of the starry constellation of 20 December 1603 in his play *Turbo*. *In Theatrum Productum. Helicone, juxta Parnassum*, n.p., 1617.

Lutherans thereby lost a natural path to the mystical insights, insights that however reemerge with the Rosicrucian fiction. Also in this context, the Rose represents a sublimated female principle, now in the feminine form of the indwelling of lights, the *Schekhina* of the *Zohar*, not to be taken concretely as with St. Mary. Particularly interesting is that before his Italian journey, Andreae was involved in a scandal of some sort when his friends visited a prostitute. He spends much effort in an early writing, *Venus devicta* (1610), to plead his innocence.

In a further development, Frey-Jaun suggests that Andreae drew directly upon parts of the alchemical text *Histoire véritable ou voyage des princes fortunez* (Paris, 1610) written by Francois Béroalde de Verville (1556–1629), the Rabelaisian satirist. Béroalde's text adds much material to a story published by Christoforo Armeno at Venice in 1557, *The Peregrination of the three sons of King Serendip*, based on the Persian allegory by Nizami, *Haft Paykar or the Seven Princesses*. He pronounces on the seven climates, the seven days of the week, the seven aspects of man, the seven parts of the body, in seven histories told in seven palaces by the seven planets. In Béroalde we find the core description of a Palace of Secrets with seven rooms each dedicated to a planet. To signal that hidden meanings may be obtained by moving letters about, Béroalde describes the text as an "oeuvre stéganographique," as in his use of Xyrile for elixir. Various strange episodes in Andreae's *Chemical Wedding* could thus turn out to depend on a specifically French Hermetic tradition of assimilating Italo-Iranian mysticism.[8]

Frey-Jaun's intertextual hypothesis may lead to even more piquant consequences. An eighteenth-century note by the then librarian at the Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève mentions a now seemingly lost romance entitled *Aventures d'Ali el Mosclan surnommé dans ses conquètes Slomnal Calife* (Paris, 1582) translated from the Arabic by one curious Rabi el Ullae de Deon. The note makes clear that the translator's odd name is an anagram for Béroalde de Verville, while the last word is a perfect anagram of Nicolas Flamel, the Parisian alchemist

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[8] Ilana Zinguer, *Oeuvres et Critique* XI (1986), pp. 93–103. Cf. her "Alchemy, 'Locus' for renewal in the Moyen de Parvenir of Beroalde de Verville" *Ambix*, vol. 31:1, pp. 6–15. See Elisabeth Vordeman, *Quellenstudien zu dem Roman Le Voyage des Princes Fortunez von Béroalde de Verville* (Göttingen, 1933). Vordeman points out that Rabelais had published a satire, *Le Temple des Bouteilles*, with pillars of the seven planets, pp. 96–97.

of the fourteenth century. This connection has led Claude Gagnon to conjecture that Béroalde is also the actual author of Flamel's *Livre des figures hiéroglyphiques* describing the great work of alchemy, a text first published in 1612 in translation by the otherwise unknown character Arnaud de la Chevallerie.[9] Gagnon says this not only because the translator's name is an imperfect anagram of Béroalde de Verville (Arnauld de Cabalerie), but because the text includes material from all of the alchemical tracts found in *Artis auriferae quam chemiam vocant antiquissimi auctores* published by Peter Perna at Basel in 1572. Béroald de Verville took up residence at Basel as a Huguenot refugee and could have worked on these texts to create a venerable tradition in Flamel's name.[10] There thus was a genre in Paris by 1612 with a cunning resemblance to the literary hoax of Andreae in 1616. Note that Béroalde also translated the *Hypnerotemachia* (Paris, 1601) into French before going on to the seven-hundred page intrigue in *Le voyage des princes fortunez* (1610).[11]

The traditional view on the Rosicrucian texts runs something like this: by 1603/05, while he was a theology-student at Tübingen, J. V. Andreae wrote the first version of the esoteric romance *Chymische Hochzeit* (Strassburg, 1616), setting the stage for the story in the *Fama* (in manuscript 1607/09) of a knight returning from the Holy Land whose simple Rosicrucian message was of a renovated Protestantism that promised a collective salvation assisted by alchemy, magic, and millenarian expectation, encapsuled in certain writings brought from the east. Since the death of the knight, whose name was Christian Rosencreutz, brothers of wisdom guard his grave. Certain books had been left behind: *Liber T* and *Liber M*, the booklet *Concentratum*, some philsophical *Canons* and the *Itinerarium* and *Vita* of CRC. There was also a *Vocabularium* later used by Theop.[hrastus] P.[aracelsus] ab Ho.[henheim]. However, there is no doubt that the literal sense of the written text is only an image of a hidden view. The rose cross

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[9] Claude Gagnon, *Nicolas Flamel sous investigation, suivi de l'édition annotée du Livre des Figures Hiéroglyphiques*, Loup de Gouttière: Québec, 1994, pp. 26–27, 54, 65ff.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 88ff., 101, 103. Gagnon notes that Flamel mentions the alchemist Lambsbring, whose works were edited in 1599 by Nicolas Barnaud.

[11] On Flamel see Raphael Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1994, pp. 238–257. Recently, a Latin copy of Flamel's text was found in the masonic library in Bååthska Palatset, Stockholm. The document was bought by Carl Gustaf Tessin in Paris in 1739 and is almost identical to the French version published in 1612, but with a beginning prayer and with different illustrations. The document is in press edited by Kjell Lekeby.

and the corpse in the grave allude to the great splendour around the Mercabah as taught by Hebrew Kabbalah, described in the *Zohar* as "the rosy dew distilled from the brain of the Ancient of Days—from his forhead, from his hair, and from his magnificent beard."[12]

It may seem unenlightening to be informed that Rosencreutz was born in 1378 and lived 106 years. In the *Fama*, we are told of the rediscovery of his grave, as CRC had predicted, 120 years after his death in 1484, i.e., as the *Confessio* states, in the year of the new star of 1604. Readers are no doubt supposed to know that the birth of the knight coincides with the end of the Great Papal Schism in 1378, while his death concurs with the birth of Martin Luther in 1484, a year in which a conjunction between the planets Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars appeared in the zodiacial sign of Scorpio. Indeed, the *Fama* was likely to be understood only by readers conversant with certain themes in Arabic astrology. The doctrine of the great conjunctions was described in detail by the ninth century astronomer of eastern Khurashan, Abu Ma'shar al-Balki, who argued that a great prophet who would supercede Mohammed would appear when these planets meet in Scorpio, as they did in 1484.[13]

A text by the Paracelsian Adam Haselmayer published in 1612, *Antwort oder Kurze Responsion* to the *Fama*, shows that the *Fama* was available to him in manuscript in Tyrol in 1610, thus well before the death of Rudolph II in 1612 and before the celebrated marriage at Heidelberg in 1613. Taking this into account, Paul Arnold argues that a major change in Würtemberg took place with the death of Duke Fredrik IV in 1610, whom Arnold takes to have been a rigid Calvinist, which resulted in a more liberal minded rule in Würtemberg. Arnold claims that the group of Hermeticists at Tübingen (including Andreae, Hess, von Wense, Besold, Hölzel, and Adami) had started to take an active interest in Campanella's work of universal reform. While Campanella's utopian tract *Monarchia di Spagna* was written in 1599–1600 at the time of the Dominican revolt in Naples—a revolt that resulted in the trial and death of Giordano Bruno and

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[12] Andrew Michael Ramsey, *The Travels of Cyrus*, Edinburgh, 1738, drawing upon Petrus Rittangel, *De Mercabah visione*, Amsterdam, 1642. Frances Yates (1986), pp. 23, 34.

[13] Cf. "Abu Ma'shar" *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1960, Vol. I, p. 139. On the reception of these ideas by Pierre D'Ailly and Roger Bacon, see Eugenio Garin, *Le Zodiac de la Vie*, Les Belles Lettres; Paris, 1991. Original edition Laterza; Rome-Bari, 1976.

in Campanella's imprisonment—it was Tobias Adami's visits to the prison that brought the tract to the public in 1620, when Christoph Besold edited the work at Tübingen. As revealed by the Roman investigation into his heresy, Campanella set much store in the prophetic significance of the great conjunctions and believed that "the death of the world" was signified by the new star in the Swan of 1602. However, as Brecht points out, Adami did not return to Tübingen with the Campanellan documents until in 1616; thus a direct Campanellan influence on the writers of the *Fama* remains at best hypothetical.[14]

In 1610–11, Andreae traveled to learn more in the Swiss cantons, in France, Italy, and Spain, thus becoming acquainted with a variety of new literary traditions. On his return to Tübingen, as Arnold shows, Andreae profited from a more open attitude at the university and again got involved with his friends Tobias Hess and Abraham Hölzel in studying Hermetic ideas. However, a scrupulous church historian whose work has received both acclaim and criticism, J. W. Montgomery, argues in detail that Andreae's outlook was that of a Lutheran pastor, rather than that of an esoteric. Montgomery believes that even in the early period, Andreae was far from presenting an Hermetic interpretation of Scripture, an interest that emerges as much more significant in the lives of Christoph Besold (who later converted to Catholicism), and Tobias Hess, and that Andreae therefore did not even write the *Fama*.[15] After the premature death of Hess, on the other hand, Andreae wrote a funerary tribute, *De Christiani Cosmoxeni genitura, iudicium* (Mompelgardi, 1612), using an Arndtian framework of the spiritual knight, but also speaking of a star heralding the Christian "Renatus." Predictably, Montgomery believes this text to be a first example of how "Andreae consistently transmuted Eros-oriented nature philosophy into Agape-centered revelational theology through the pivotal Christian doctrine of redemption."[16]

Montgomery flatly denies Paul Arnold's statement that there had

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[14] Paul Arnold (1990), pp. 66, 78, 84ff. Frances Yates (1986), p. 137. Luigi Amabile, *Fra Tomaso Campanella*, Napoli, 1887, III, pp. 128–129, 135. In his last political tract of 1635, Campanella builds a scenario on the universal monarchy by reference to St. Bridget, St. Catherine of Siena, Dionysio Cartusiano, Joachim di Fiore, Savanarola, Arquato, Cardano, Tycho, and the chronologist Scaliger, pp. 299–300.

[15] J. W. Montgomery (1973), pp. 205ff.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 194.

been a heated controversy at the university concerning the Hermetic activities of Andreae, Hölzel, and Hess, a controversy that was resolved in 1612 when the rector of the university was deposed by royal decree. The scandal was instead the episode with the prostitute in 1610. Further research has not entirely lifted the veil on these events: Did the aspiring apocalypticists around the gifted Tobias Hess form a close circle, or were some of them more involved than others? Was Andreae even betraying his friends by leaving the town for Italy and France? Martin Brecht shows that in 1605, Hess was interrogated for his views on the Apocalypse; Hess claimed to be a prophet inspired by the voice of an angelic Lion. These interrogations were resumed in 1609.[17] Unfortunately, there is no record of how Andreae looked upon the controversy; instead, there are records of his discussions with Jesuits at the nearby monastery of Dillingen.[18] With this concentration on local events, Arnold offers an interesting conclusion: with the new openess in 1613, Andreae was given a position as Lutheran preacher at Vaihingen outside Tübingen. This would be the reason for the publication of the *Fama* at that time. Brecht turns this argument on its head, however, and shows that Andreae's denial of Rosicrucian Hermeticism had already begun, perhaps caused by his seeking to conform to the requirements of his pastoral office.[19]

More important, Frey-Jaun shows that there was an active reception in Tübingen of the theology of grace set out by the Lutheran theologian Andreas Osiander (1498–1552), an ardent reader of Johannes Reuchlin's Christian Kabbalah, a discerning commentator on the prophecies of Joachim di Fiore and Hildegard of Bingen, and the person to write the famous preface to Copernicus' *De Revolutionibus* (1543).[20] In 1551, after the publication of his discussion "whether the Son of God would have come incarnate," an explication of biblical passages with many references to kabbalistic concepts, Osiander was accused of being a crypto-papist. In his controversial text of the

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[17] Cf. Carlos Gilly, *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586–1986—Die Manifeste der Rosenkreuzerbruderschaft*, Katalog einer Ausstellung in der Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica; Amsterdam, 1986, pp. 20, 27, 98.

[18] J. W. Montgomery (1973), p. 42 n. 93. Manuel Insolera is presently studying the documents in Rome on Andreae's discussions with Jesuits at Dillingen. Andreae also met Jesuits in Italy, as well as later in life.

[19] Martin Brecht, "Christoph Besold als Rosenkreutzer," address in the *Rosencreutz als Europäische Phänomen*, Symposion Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, November 23, 1994.

[20] Regine Frey-Jaun (1989), pp. 130, 169ff.

following year, *De unico mediatore Iesu Christo et iustificatione Dei: Confessio Andreae Osiandri* (1551), he emphasizes the transforming character of grace with the slogan: "nothing justifies that does not also vivify." Osiander further believed that the visible church is identical to the mystical body of Christ, a body persisting only through the indwelling of lights, or the Holy Spirit. At Tübingen, these ideas gave a new dimension to Lutheran mysticism, as a spiritual death to the cross was combined with Osiandrian and Weigelian themes on a new birth, the Christ within. The body of the reborn, tied together by the spiritual bride and bridegroom, was signified by the individual's assumption of celestial flesh, the lapis philosophorum of the medieval mystics, and an analogue to Christ.[21] The separate role of Würtemberg in the Osiandrian debate (as an absorption of themes rather than a reaffirmation of dogma led the way) becomes visible in the debates among J. V. Andreae's teachers, particularly the Professor of Law Christoph Besold and Matthias Haffenreffer, the Lutheran theologian. Osiander's confession, or values closely related to it, probably facilitated the incorporation of a hidden Christian kabbalist eschatology in the *Fama.*

Rose Cross and Ros Crux

Recent research in England has nevertheless in many ways reinforced Frances Yates' view on the overtures to the political alliance between Britain and Würtemberg. The evidence from the Baltic area also supports her scenario, but it is necessary to alter her time frame. Records show that by 1606, Emperor Rudolph was feeling a threat from his brother Matthias of Austria, the aggressive ultra-Catholic claimant to the Imperial throne, who two years later was made King of Hungary, the land to the east where a staunch minority of Protestants prevailed during the Reformation. In 1611, with these pressures rising, Rudolph decided to join King James in support of his son-in-law, the Danish King Christian IV, and to back him as a new candidate for the Imperial throne. Crucial for all these initiatives

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[21] Cf. Emanuel Hirsch, *Die Theologie Andreas Osiander und ihre geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen*, Göttingen, 1919. Also, Patricia Wilson-Kastner, "Andreas Osiander's Theology of Grace in the perspective of the influence of Augustine of Hippo" *Sixteenth Century Journal* 10:2 (1979), pp. 73–91.

was the unavoidable fact that the Danish King was the designated Elector of Saxony; Christian IV was Prince of Holstein and thus could act as a lawful successor of Prince August of Saxony. Meanwhile in Protestant Germany, moves were set afoot to negotiate a marriage alliance between Würtemberg and the Stuarts. Rudolph's torn position enabled his alchemical advisor Michael Maier to take command of these dealings. Yates took a further step, however, by suggesting that there is an extensive and even earlier British context for the Rose Cross structured around the use of Dee's Monas sign in the poetic-Arcadian circles of Philip Sidney, Edmund Spencer, Inigo Jones, Ben Jonson, Francis Bacon and others. Her argument can be stated as follows: In 1583, Dee was sought out by Sidney's collaborators Sir Francis Walsingham and Edward Dyer, both involved in the Elizabethan Secret Service; shortly thereafter, Dee decided to travel to Krakow with the ambitious Calvinist pretender to the Polish throne, the nobleman Anton Laski, a friend of Philip Sidney and frequent diplomatic traveler. At Prague, Dee joined the court alchemist Edward Kelley in actions with spirits performed after the Book of Enoch and with a crystal shewstone. The records of these actions show that it was not long before Kelley saw the apocalyptic Rider of the White Horse. The Angel Uriel declared that out of Enoch "shall be restored the holy books, which have perished even from the begynning, and from the first that lived. And herein shal be deciphered perfect truth from imperfect falsehode, True religion from false and damnable errors, with all Artes: which are proper to the use of man, the first and sanctified perfection: which when it hath spread a While, THEN COMMETH THE END."[22]

Spent by these actions in the spring of 1586, Kelley and Dee travelled to Trebona in the trail of the magnificent alchemist patron Wilhelm Ursini Wok à Rosis (Rozemberg), who fiercly vied for the Polish throne, having actually been offered it in 1574–76. Rozemberg and his brother Peter possessed a great collection of esoteric books, of which many volumes later passed into Swedish hands. There was also the funeral scene in 1611 when a wooden crest with

[22] See Christopher Whitby, "John Dee and the End of the World," to be published by Stephen Clukas in Proceedings from the Dee conference at Birkbeck College, London, April 1995. Whitby draws on MS. Sloane 3188, f. 101–102, British Library, the 5th of May 1583, thus preceding the actions published by Meric Causubon, *A True and Faithful Relation of What passed between dr. John Dee . . . and some spirits* (London, 1659).

a single rose was broken over Rozemberg's grave. Given Dee's involvement with Walsingham, Yates believed (presenting little concrete evidence) that use was made of "rosa" as a secret mark of an original Protestant Union that was further reflected in the poetic ambiance of Sidney and Spencer. She made perceptive use of the *militia evangelica* purportedly forged in the summer of 1586 between Fredrik IV of Würtemberg, Henry IV of France, King James of Scotland, and Fredrick II of Denmark (d. 1588). Such an evangelical union was again envisioned by the proto-Rosicrucian prophet Simon Studion in his *Naometria* for 1604, but Yates appears not to have actually seen the manuscript, for she does not describe its content in detail. Since she wrote, however, new evidence has emerged. Peter French noticed that Daniel Rogers (1518–1591), a Melanchtonian pastor involved with the *Pléiade* in Paris and with Sidney's *Aeropagite* society, was sent in 1580 to the court of Saxony: his mission was to prevent dissension among Protestant princes and to form them into an anti-Habsburg, anti-Catholic league. Diplomatic reports from 1583–85 show that an alliance with Huguenot France was negotiated by Ségur-Pardaillon in England, Denmark, Hesse, Anhalt, Magdeburg, and Brandenburg, that resulted in substantial funding from Elizabeth I of England. The overall aim for Ségur-Pardaillon was to strengthen the hard pressed anti-Catholic, anti-Guise factions in France.[23] The emergence of this Huguenot strategy may indeed have something to do with Giordano Bruno's tenure at the French Embassy in London (where he arrived in 1583) as the special emissary of France. Bruno now wrote the *Cena delle Ceneri* (Ash Wednesday supper) in which he accorded roles to Fulke Greville and Philip Sidney; he quoted Virgil and Ovid on the dew of heaven, too, as in the last line of the first dialogue. Ideas about how to aid the cause of Huguenot resistance in France were proposed by the Protestant faction around Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester. It was to Leicester that Jacob Brocardo's apocalyptic schemes in English translation was offered in 1582; and it was for this circle that Sidney worked on a new translation of the Psalms and a translation of Du Bartas' Huguenot encyclopedia *La*

[23] Rogers was imprisoned by the Imperial army in 1581–84. On his return to England, he was sent on diplomatic missions to Denmark in 1587 and 1588. On the alliance, see Christoph von Rommeln (1837), p. 565. Cf. Frances Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, Studies of the Warburg Institute XV; London 1947, pp. 199ff. Peter French, *John Dee—The World of an Elizabethan Magus*, Boston and Henley; London, 1972.

Sepmaine. Leicester's bold bid for power in the Netherlands failed, however, and in the anti-Spanish campaign, Philip Sidney met his death in the fall of 1586. In a funeral poem to Sidney published by Robert Dow in the following year, Sidney is praised as having stood on the frontier of the Christian world, and in a remarkable phrase, Dow regrets that Sidney could not take his natural place as elected successor to Stephan Batory on the Polish throne: "But the man whom I often prayed might be given to you, great Pole, from us Britons, as king at the death of Stephen, him God took to Himself, to the splendid halls of heaven. . . ."[24]

Yates saw John Dee as an important ideologue in this secret diplomacy, and she focused on the older hypothesis that the Rose Cross was of a purely alchemical origin; she vaguely suggested that the name may come "from *Ros*, dew and *Crux*, light, with a reference to the mysteries of alchemy . . . indicated by the fact that Dee's *Monas* with its text about the *ros*, or dew on the title page, its discussion of the 'monas' as an alchemical form of the cross, is closely linked with the Rosicrucian *Confessio.*" The equation of crux and light seems a little confused, but can be taken to point in the right direction since in traditional symbolism a cross inscribed within a circle stands for the alchemical crucible. Looking more closely, we find that the sixteenth theorem of Dee's *Monas* establishes that the Pythagorean "X", contains the Latin numerals for 50, 5, and 10; L, V, X. Yates paid much attention to the fact that the first edition of the *Confessio* at Kassel in 1614 had an alchemical preface on Dee's monas-sign, called "a brief consideration on more secret philosophy," written by the mysterious figure, Phillippus a Gabella, or Philemon R.C. Given the use of the monas, there was a connection to Dee and to English politics; and it would seem that "there was both an exoteric chivalrous application of 'Rose Cross', and an esoteric alchemical meaning, *Ros Crux.*"[25] The first would be political, the second deeply mystical.

Drawing attention to the alchemical initiatory process of the *Chemical Wedding*, Frances Yates concluded that the secret doctrine of the Rosicrucian documents is encapsuled in the monas sign taken from John Dee's natural philosophy, an imperial system dependent

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[24] George Gömöri, "Sir Philip Sidney's Hungarian and Polish Connections" *Oxford Slavonic Papers* N.S. vol. xxiv, pp. 23–33.

[25] On Ros Crux, see Frances Yates (1986), p. 47.

on work in logic, numerology, astronomy, navigation, and ultimately, angelology. Dee can even be seen as an influential British Imperialist, who, through the court of Queen Elizabeth (Astraea), worked for establishing a British hegemony in Northern Europe and across the Atlantic, a hegemony related to the myth of Anglia, the kingdom of King Arthur. Yates was led to focus on these claims because she saw Dee as the leading ideologue behind the British Order of the Garter, which boasted a glamourous yearly ceremonial at Windsor even outshining that of the Ordre Royal de St. Michel in France.[26] Yet, while Christian Rosencreutz is described in the *Chemical Wedding* as a knight, an "equus ordine lapide aurea," the Order of the Garter (whose heraldic symbol is the Red Cross of St. George) lies less near at hand as a source for Andreae than the high-medieval order from Burgundy, the Golden Fleece, an order that conferred the Cross of St. Andrew in its initiation rite and that was just established in 1459 when CRC is said to have been knighted. It was with this order in mind that J. V. Andreae conjured up the alchemical Order of the Golden Stone, "flowing of gold."[27] The golden fleece was the object for the quest of Iason and the Argonauts, but on a more esoteric level, the Order prides itself on being constituted by resurrected Maccabéans, the select Gideonites of the Book of Judges, chapter 7. In this mythology, Iason and Gideon thus emerge as the exoteric/esoteric pair. Yet, the Golden Fleece remains clouded by its Burgundian-Habsburg pedigree, making it more probable that the *Hochzeit* projects a variant of it, its mirror image.[28]

This conjecture is further strenghthened by another observation. The family crest chosen by Jakob Andreae is identical to the cross of St. Andrew with four roses used as heraldic device by Henric of Luxemburg, King of Lombardy and, as Henry VII, reigning Holy Roman Emperor in the brief period 1308–13, when he died at Bonconvent outside Sienna. Thus, Henric sat on the Imperial throne

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[26] Frances Yates, *Astraea—The Imperial theme in the sixteenth Century*, Routledge and Kegan Paul; London, 1975, ARK Paperbacks, London, 1985, pp. 48–50, 108.

[27] The Garter was instituted in 1348. Cf. Erhardus Cellius, *Eques Auratus Anglo-Würtembergicis*, Tübingen, 1606, quoted by Frances Yates (1986), pp. 32, 66. Michael Maier's *Arcana Arcanissima hoc est hieroglyphica Aegypto-Graeca* (n.p., 1615), explains Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as codes for alchemical secrets, as with Jason and the Golden Fleece, a theme developed by Solomon Trismosin in 1599. For a modern analysis see Antoine Faivre, *Le Toison d'Or*, Paris, 1976.

[28] Cf. Julio Chifflet, *Breviarum historicum inclyto ordinis velleris aurei*, Antwerp, 1652, p. 8.

during the trial of the Templars in France (1307–14). He witnessed and had to endure the removal of the papacy to Avignon in 1309, hardly a coincidence. Henric waged war against the Ghibellines in Lombardy with his vassal Thierry de Bar and set the Vatican under siege in 1312 to drive out Robert of Naples, the Francophore vicar. In canto XXX of *Paradise*, Dante envisions him under the gold of the eternal Rose . . . in our vast white-robed consistory,

> In that great chair already set with crown above it and which draws your eyes to it, before you summon to this nuptial feast, shall sit the soul, predestined emperor, of that Great Henry who one day will come to set straight Italy before her time.

This Henric fathered Johan the blind, who married Isabella, daughter of Wenceslaus of Bohemia, from whom stemmed Wenceslaus II, King of Bohemia in 1433.[29] In brief, through their crest, the Andreaes honor the very period of history that is cause for concern among Masonic authors and among those nostalgic for Cathar gnosis. We do not know, however, whether the Andreaes were aware of this remarkable coincidence.

While it can be shown that the Order of the Garter was used as a British political instrument (viz., the Garter was given to Johan Cassimir of the Palatinate in 1579, to Henry III of France in 1584, to Henry IV in 1600, to Christian IV of Denmark and to Fredrick of Würtemberg in 1606) neither of these orders played any explicit role in the Rosicrucian fiction as set out by the *Fama*. Sceptics also claim that the tale of knights organized in circles of successive generations could be drawn from any medieval organization. One can compare the situation with Oxenstierna's record of how, at a pivotal point during the campaign in Polish Prussia in 1627, Gustav Adolf was given the Order of the Garter. The messenger from the Prince of Wales on this occasion was the Scotsman James Spens—appointed in 1611 messenger of Sweden to the British court and in 1613 an aid to Fredrik V of Würtemberg—but there seems to have been no Rosicrucian symbolism involved. Nevertheless, a romantic atmosphere stuck to the red cross insignia, for ten years later, when the Garter was offered to Oxenstierna himself, he wrote to his son

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[29] Dom Auguste Calmet, *Histoire de Lorraine*, Nancy, 1751. Vol. V, Henric's crest is reproduced on a coin, p. xcii, described as "une croix de St. André accompagnée de quatre roses, p. cxlvii. The Dante translation is by Marc Musa, Penguin Classics, 1986.

and warned sternly, "Anglus ludit in re seria et illudit orbis terrarum." (The English play in serious matters and world domination eludes them).[30]

Nevertheless, Frances Yates remained convinced of the central role of John Dee's influence on the Rosicrucians because of the text on the monas written by the mysterious "Phillippus a Gabella." Without being explicit, she took it as a reference to some writer influenced by Philip Sidney's poetic society of the 1580s, the *Aeropagite.* Even if hard to substantiate, the conjecture is bold. Recent observations on the English-language alchemical manuscripts in the Old Royal Collection in Copenhagen underlines it. A series of manuscripts are identified, bound in volumes inscribed with the monas-sign at an uncertain date and the note "Liber Christopheri Taylour." Two of these manuscripts bear Edward Kelley's signature, while the most interesting item is signed Arioponus Caephalus of Eutopia, and carries a dedication: "To the most mighty & invincible Emperour Rudulphus 2 Always Augustus./W.C.M.D. the least of the philosophers."[31] I take it that the initials might indicate the physician at Prague, Carl Wideman of Augsburg, who records that he also assisted Edward Kelley at the court of Count Rozemberg in Trebona before he left him in the fall of 1588. Wideman later influenced the Rosicrucian author Isaac Habrecht, owner of a substantial number of these Copenhagen manuscripts. In 1609, Wideman met Adam Haselmayer, the Paracelsian translator of one of Kelley's alchemical tracts and the first to write a reply to the Rosicrucians.[32] Kelley's assistants in Trebona include Francis Garland and John Carpe. Through them, Dee continued to receive news of Kelley's dealings even in the period 1593–95, when the great scryer died after a jump from a tower to escape his temporary imprisonment at Prague. The striking use of Dee's Monas sign on these bindings could, however, be late additions, after 1613.

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[30] Nils Ahnlund ed. *Axel Oxenstiernas skrifter och brevväxling,* Kungliga Vitterhetsakademin; Stockholm, 15 vols. (1888–) vol. ii.

[31] Undated Ms. GKS. 247. fol. *Apotelesmata, the Philosophical effects of Mercury in his Tryumphe.* . . . These mss. range from 1579 to 1613, see Jan Baecklund, "Sir Edward Kelley in Prague" to be published by Steven Clukas in the Proceedings of the John Dee Conference in Birkbeck College in London, April, 1994.

[32] On Wideman in Trebona, see Carlos Gilly, *Abraham Haselmayer—der erste Verkünder der Manifeste der Rosenkreuzer,* In de Pelikaan; Amsterdam, 1994, pp. 106, 113. Kelley's tract was translated in 1606, p. 207.

Phillippo à Gabella's Stella Hieroglyphica

The Rosicrucian *Confessio* was originally published with an illustrated commentary on John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564), called *Secretioris Philosophia Consideratio brevis a Phillippo a Gabella.* Throughout, as Yates points out, Dee's Monas-sign is consistently called a "Stella hieroglyphica," alluding to the woman holding a star in her hand printed on the last page of the first edition of Dee's *Monas.* It is likely that the pseudonymic author of the "Stella hieroglyphica" named Dee's symbol in this new way because he wanted to draw attention to Dee's specific doctrine of astral influence. In the next chapter, I consider how this doctrine of astral signatures and macro-microcosmic correlations was transformed by the events following upon Postel's description of the new star in Cassiopeia in 1572 as an occurrence of monumental significance.

Phillippus a Gabella first draws attention to the ocean of air located in the celestial sphere and then adapts Dee's view of the generation of the cross from a continuous fall of successive drops, just as a line is produced from the flux of a physical point. Clulee demonstrates that the *fons et origo* of Dee's description of this process is the emanationist thinking of certain Arabic Aristotelians, in particular the astrology of Abu Ma'shar al-Balki (d. 886), translated into Latin in 1130 by John of Seville, and the geometric optics set out in *De Radiis* of al-Kindi (fl. 850), the science concerned with light cones. Dee learned of al-Kindi's doctrines from the writings on the optics of rays by Roger Bacon (1214–94), whose letters Dee edited, and from translations of medieval Arabic tracts offered by Robert Grosseteste and Nicholas Oresme. This framework of geometric optics for explaining celestial influence would be a significant "Rosicrucian" contribution to Western science. Rosicrucian science can even be identified as building on the Baconian optics of rays, on investigations into the principles of mirrors, of looking-glass, magnifying-glass, and burning-glass.[33]

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[33] Abu Ma'shar's work was translated by John of Seville in 1130 and a second time by Hermann of Carinthia in 1150, the text was first published at Augsburg in 1489. Cf. Nicholas H. Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy—Between Science and Religion,* Routledge and Kegan Paul; London, 1988, pp. 41, 52ff. William Shumaker and John Heilbronn, *John Dee on Astronomy—the Propaedeumata Aphoristica (1558 and 1568),* University of California Press; Los Angeles and London, 1978, pp. 204ff.

Now, following a numerological expansion given by Dee, Gabella says that a cross-shaped quaternion, +, represents a decade built by the elemental numbers one, two, three, four, just as Pythagoras constructed the tetractys (a decade). Gabella then argues by Dee's theorem VII of the *Monas* that the cross of the monas sign, ♄☉♂, is generated "quasi fluxu" from a single point:

> For a similar reason when I move our four elements like a line + from a drop, in a continuous flow the points of our stars are produced; thus does it come about in our mechanical magic.[34]

The star of the alchemists shoots out from the drops of dew gathered in spring, drops first processed in the so called first alchemical opus. C. H. Josten points out that Dee's Monas cross, ♄☉♂, in fact develops on some geometric suggestions formulated by the Benedictine Abott Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516) to the effect that the ascent of the soul proceeds "by rectification from the ternary through the divided binary to unity . . . and by a descent from unity to the quaternary resting in the ternary."[35] Alluding to Tritheim in an earlier work, Dee sets out an explanatory text around the Monas, stating, "the quaternary resting in the ternary." The formula attempts to capture that four lines flowing from a point forms a cross, thus, at the point of crossing of two bars. The cross is then joined with the sign for Aries, the Ram, in itself formed by a conjunction of the shifted signs for Jupiter and Saturn. Thinking of the Sabéan doctrine of celestial agriculture, Dee also inscribed around the image of the woman with the star, "De rore Caeli et pinguendino Terrae", the dewy moisture of the heavens and the fatness of the earth, exhorting, "Let the waters above the heavens fall and the earth will yield its fruit." The sacred role of this archaic blessing was imparted to Moses and Isaac, and the blessing also reverberates in the figure of the high priest Melchizedek as sovereign over nature, as rainmaker and magican, as crystal-gazer, astronomer, and alchemist (Genesis 27:28, Psalms 110:3, Hebrews 7:3).

Gabella proclaims that it can no longer be concealed that "nostra

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[34] "Hic ego simili ratione moveo dum elementares nostrae quator linea + ex stillae, tanquam puncti physici nostrae stellae, continuo casu (quasi fluxu) in mechanica nostrae, producantur magia." Gabella's *Brevis Consideratio* is dedicated to the nobleman Bruno Carolus von Uffel, a patron to Raphael Eglinus and a frequent vistor to Hesse-Kassel, see Bruce T. Moran (1991), p. 98.

[35] C. H. Josten, "A translation of John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*" Ambix (1964). Cf. William Shumaker (1978), pp. 200–203.

stella, Signata + crucis" serves through specific proportion. For, from its first point, the monas cross conjoins and marries the watery Mercury of the philosophers, ☿, with the fiery Aries of the astronomers, ♈; while the former represents the glowing spirit of alchemy, the latter marks the beginning of the zodiacal year: the time of spring when dew is collected for the alchemical process. Aries also marks the ascending aspect of the fiery trigon, the awaited and mysteriously regular passage of the great planetary conjunctions from the watery sign of Pisces to Sagittarius, Leo, and Aries.

Similarly, the soul may fuse its different aspects, for, "Nature is the originator of fire. . . . Nature is the will of God." This fusion of the infernal and supernal realms is occult, Gabella admits, since,

> Sex is meant for procreation & the union of both into one; it follows in truth, that this unity is incomprehensible, to the extent that it is without cupidity, without venality, from both sides.[36]

In other words, in the state of the spiritual hermaphrodite, the adept may fuse Spirit with Soul. Gabella reveals only that his Platonic ideas on the marriage of opposites are borrowed from the alchemical schemes developed by Geber and Ramon Lull. It can be fairly said that a desire for the-couple-in-one without the realities of a real marriage is a frequent phantasy in the mystical tradition, for example, in the speculation of Dee's early acquaintance in Paris, Guillaume Postel.[37] But, perhaps too much of this mystery was given away, for the insightful commentary on Dee was dropped (and also Haselmayer's text) for the more widely read double edition of the *Fama* and *Confessio* at Frankfurt in 1615.

Gabella's revelation is highly illuminating, and few other Rosicrucian texts are so clearly argued. However, it differs somewhat from the anonymous letter, *Epistola ad D. D. Fratres de Rosea Cruce* (Frankfurt, 1617), a text in which the Rose Cross is expounded. As with the *Fama*, this letter is signed "Sub umbra alarum tuarum Jehova," and is printed as though sent out from a court in Saxony. The author expounds on theosophy as a luminous science within a frame-

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[36] "Procreatione est sexus & ejusq. utruiusq.; connexio, aut quod est veri, unitas incomprehensibilis est, quam sine cupidine, sine venere, sive utrinq." Gabella, *Brevis Consideratio . . .*, Ch. 5.

[37] On the psychology of the rose, cf. Claude-Gilbert Dubois, "Les Metamorphoses mystiques de la sexualité dans la pensée du Guillaume Postel" *Etudes Francais* (4:2) 1968, pp. 171–207.

work of Lutheran mysticism; mystical love and union are touched upon and there is reference to the interior habitation of God, the temple that can be seen and heard only inwardly. The author proclaims salvation through the blood of Christ and argues that this blood is a supercelestial tincture with some relevance to the alchemical promise "veniet sine veste Diana," a textual fragment found in the dialogue of Morienus Romanus with Rex Calid. Now, after the lighting of the sixth candelabra, Elijah the Artist invites us to a colloquium with the Angels of the most High. The Rose Cross must therefore be understood as follows:

> What does the red Rose mean, what does the black Cross in it signify? The first instructs the weak, the second exhorts them to be pious, hence piety is the most excellent treasure (Gaza) for the brothers; Yet, they nurture it in a fragile cup placed beneath the cross.[38]

It is on similar evidence that Montgomery has criticized the view that J. V. Andreae was a committed Hermeticist; Montgomery claims that the Chemical Wedding and the Blood of the Lamb must be seen as a thoroughly legitimate symbolism in Lutheran mysticism. There thus may seem to be at least two divergent interpretations of the Rose Cross: A) Phillippus a Gabella's interpretation of the Rose Cross as a specific astro-spiritual conception of divine influx and presupposing the wide magico-scientific world view of the Sabéans and laid out by John Dee; B) A Lutheran Rose Cross set firmly within a theological context of the German pietist and mystical tradition spanning from Thomas à Kempis to Johan Arndt.

These divergent tendencies in the Rosicrucian movement—the Paracelsian and the Lutheran pietist—remain largely unstated in the research of Paul Arnold and Frances Yates. Instead, they drew attention to the way the Rosicrucian romance borrows ideas from the tradition of the spiritual knight, from Christian kabbalist contemplation on the mystical name, from numerical speculation, from alchemy, and from the ideas of Hermetic reform formulated by Tomaso Campanella. However, the tension between the two strands perceived in the earliest Rosicrucian documents even at the time of their first publication generated problems for the identity of the movement. As new authors started to write their own amplifications of

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[38] "Quid Rosa rubra notat, quid Crux nigra signat in ipsa? Illa docet fragiles, haec iubet esse pios, sic pietas quamvis Fratribus optime Gaza; Hanc tamen in fragili, sub cruce, vase gerunt."

the doctrine, new perspectives were created by departing primarily from either base.

If John Dee's obscure book was known only to a handful of readers outside England (the Emperors at Prague, Gerard Dorn, Heinrich Khunrath, Carl Wideman, Adam Haselmayer, Raphael Eglinus), these readers were of some consequence, and among them was the royal tutor to the fortress of Protestantism, to the Baltic hero, and the north wind, Johannes Bureus.[39]

Divergent Paths of Rosicrucianism 1614–1620

After the first call of the *Fama*, a flurry of serious documents were published, but also a run of uninformed attacks on the movement as a crypto-Calvinist or crypto-Jesuit heresy. There were fears of a new and fatalistic Calvino-Turkicism. One fear was that the message concerned a denial of the Trinity and a fatalist acceptance of astrological predictions. Contributing to the confusion were several attempts by followers of Jacob Boehme to involve themselves in the controversy. The more than two hundred Rosicrucian texts following upon the original call (as listed by Carlos Gilly), do not immediately reveal the central concerns of the original authors, but they do indicate the wide concern of readers.

Rosicrucian kabbalism offered the prospect of a radical reform effected by a new sectarian hierarchy organized around the divine human, not opposed to, but parallel to the church. The Palatine physician Michael Maier (1564–1622) argues this in particular in a Rosicrucian tract. The text, *Themis Aurea* (Frankfurt, 1618, 2nd ed. 1624), later circulated in Andreae's network for a Christian Society. The death and ressurection of Christ is assimilated to alchemical principles by Maier, but the major tendencies of his writings are less Christocentric than Hermetic.[40] Maier explains the doctrine and practise of the Rosicrucian Order by focusing on its structure:

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[39] For Rosicrucian reference to Dee's Monas by Vaclav Budovec z Budova in 1615, reprinted in Sigmund Dullinger's *Speck auff der Fall* (1618), and in Christianus Theophilus *Y Dias mystica ad Monadis Simplicitatem* (1620), cf. Carlos Gilly (1986), p. 65. As Gilly will fully document, there are up to twenty German translation of Dee's Monas before 1610, thus removing the doubts voiced by Brian Vickers (1979), p. 308n.

[40] Michael Maier, *Themis Aurea hoc est de legibus fraternitatis R.C.*, Frankfurt, 1618, engl. transl. in 1656 by Thomas Vaughan (Eugenius Philaletes).

> Our Brethren have never been without a leader, instead they have always had a senior amongst them, as Chief and Governor, to whom they are obedient. They bestow their time in duty to God, they remain awake day and night to scrutinize the Scriptures, they give copious alms and dispense medicine gratis, they investigate all nature, and submit the secrets of Nature to experiments.[41]

Maier presents Rosicrucianism, not as a Weigelian form of personal empowerment, but as an attempt to construct a free community formed on the lines of an invisible hierarchy that would collectively empower through conferring belief and authority, light and heat. The Rosicrucian hierarchy is "an acephalic pyramid," with a broad base and no summit, but with a fictitious founder revered as a hidden and omnipresent leader.

Trained as a Habsburg monarchist, Maier was not seeking to abolish the structures that make possible an ascent to power. On the contrary, Maier actively ignores the Rosicrucian social reformers, and even warns of the revolutionary implications of the chymical wisdom preached by Paraceslus, Weigel, Boehme, and other sectarians who took the conversionist scenario seriously. Thus, Maier makes the following paradoxical claims:

> That the brethren of R.C. do neither dream of, hope for or engage in any Reformation of the world by Religion, the Conversion of the Jews or by the policies of Enthusiasts, which seemingly would be established by Scripture, but that they both acknowledge and show themselves lovers of truth and justice. . . . Such causes have produced many tumults and confusions in commonwealths, where men have been acted by vain thoughts and foolish dreams, as it evidently appears in Anabaptists and Enthusiasts. Are there not many, even in this our age, who, being ambitious to be ringleaders in new ways, instead of a Reformation have disturbed all Order and Law?[42]

Maier concluded that the Rosicrucian reformation must be controlled by the learned. Apprehensive of the adverse effects of Paracelsian agitation, he goes on to a new polemic:

> Some were deceived to believe they would have one Religion, Unity, and Concord; but in all these things they were belied and abused, for they never did enact any such things . . . out of their Books there is

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[41] *Ibid.*, Ch. 17. The Latin text (1618, p. 236) has it: "Fratres illi nunquam fuere Acephali, sed semper haberit seniorem, aetate, sic authoritate praevalentem, cui pro et par est, obediunt & quique sua officia accepta fuerunt."

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

> something to be gathered about the Reformation of the arts. . . . And there is no doubt that the arts be more increased, their lustre more polished and many more secrets discovered. But herein religion is not concerned.[43]

Instead, Maier claims that Rosicrucians work for an Hermetic process of refinement, a purely internal transformation of human hearts and beliefs. The brethren should disappear from active involvement in society; they would use no authority, nor try to transmit their beliefs other than by private means. Caution of this sort is a familiar device in the secrecy of guild systems. But, Michael Maier does not seriously suggest a move toward quiet personal salvation away from public political power. Instead, he points out that physicians have great positions of strength, since as personal councellors of monarchs they can influence the mind of the Sovereign. Rosicrucianism hence would better stay a theosophical theocracy, one that remains invisible, without public involvement, but with great influence behind the scenes. This strategy of secrecy runs counter to the public rally in 1619 around Fredrick V in Bohemia, the outspoken Protestant act of defiance designed by the wealthy upper nobility in those lands and supported by many Lutheran Paracelsians. Maier's writings, as must be emphasized, were thus not at all representative for the Palatine Rosicrucians. Instead, his extreme caution reflects his situation at the court of Hesse-Kassel, where he prepared his *Silentium Post Clamores* (Frankfurt, 1617) in which he claims obscurely that the Rosicrucians have gone underground. The background to this drastic statement was Maier's experiences in England where he arrived in 1612 on a diplomatic mission from Prague. He stayed on for the funeral of Henry of Wales and the celebrations of the Würtemberg marriage in the following year. Befriending William Paddy, Francis Anthony, Robert Fludd, and other English alchemists, Maier left for Hesse-Kassel in 1616 (to publish his hermetico-poetic works *Lusus serius* and *Jocus severus*). As a Palatine medical doctor with experience from the English political scene, Maier had more grounds than others for doubting the Würtemberg Bohemian bid; he probably was informed that King James had strong doubts about the provocative policies of the Palatinists. Relocated at Hesse, Maier saw it as a special Rosicrucian duty to restore Hermetic knowledge through the printing press. He began to focus on the decline of the seven classical

[43] *Loc. cit.*, p. 237.

arts and argued that a spiritual elite must get control over artistic creativity and over the practical crafts in order to steer away from the uninformed and destructive influence of millenarian radicals. Given the devastating outcome of the Thirty Years' War, Maier's position was perhaps foresighted, even if starkly reactionary. He was in any case not saved by his ideas; he disappeared during the violent siege of Magdeburg by Imperial troops in 1622, just shortly after dedicating his last statement to the Prince of Norway, the *Cantilenae Intellectuales de Phoenice Rediwivo*.[44]

Utopian visions of social stability are used by several Rosicrucian writers. For example, in his tract *Pegasus Firmamenti* (n.p., 1618), Josephus Stellatus (Christoph Hirsch) describes the seven pillars of the mystical Temple to be built by the fraternity, and praises the theocratic function of the sovereign magi of Egypt and Persia. Similarly attached to mystical sovereignty, Michael Maier identifies nine mystical sects that he takes to have anticipated the Rosicrucians: the cult of Serapis under Pharao Sesostris, the mysteries of Eleusis and of Dionysius at Samos, the Persian magi, the Brahmins, the Ethiopians, Apollonius of Thyana, Pythagoras, the Arabians of Damcar, and the Christian Maurists of the Near East. Maier even developed Rosicrucianism as a form of perennial Pythagoreanism, a sort of melancholic and laborious game. In *Atalanta Fugiens* (1617), he emphasizes the Hermetico-poetic interpretations of Greek and Egyptian myths by bringing forth hidden virtues in 50 illustrations set to music, beginning with the story of how Atalanta was diverted from the race by her distracted reaching for a golden apple. Maier's texts disclose little of his persona, but he continues to produce his own accords in himself, separated from the public condition of those in the crowd who follow lines of melody. Refocusing on alchemical and theosophical secrets in his allegorical texts, Maier embodies an elitist poetic attitude, as with his strange hints in 1617 concerning the sigil R.C., which he declares mean "Pegasus" and "Julius" to the initiated, adding "Is this not the claw of a rosy Lion?" Maier's hermetic names and his hints concerning the theosophic Lion could be a concrete clue, and Frances Yates believed that Maier thought of Pegasus as Fredrick V and of Julius as Moritz of Hesse. But how can we know that Maier was not hinting at Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig

[44] J. B. Craven, *Count Michael Maier*, Kirkwall, 1901. Reprinted by Dawsons; London, 1968, p. 146.

who recently had revived the Academia Julia in Helmstedt by opening the "Juleum novum," a renaissance building completed in 1612? By 1614, the academy was famed as a center for Calixtean syncretism, and Maier might have felt that the Julian medical faculty could be brought to spread Hermetic science.[45]

Other Rosicrucian writers, such as Eglinus at Hessen-Cassel and Bureus at Stockholm, had different views of the Rosicrucian material. To them, the myth of Christian Rosencreutz represented reverence for ancient wisdom, but at no point did they emphasize it as an emblem for the invisible watchful eye. Their interest in ceremonial observance was slight; instead they believed in a new political order, a golden age to be restored by bringing Europe to its original reformed state. Extreme cases of this activism can be found, as shown below, in the disinherited and exiled preachers Matthias Pfennig and Philip Ziegler, who took it upon themselves to conspire against the ruling order. The Rosicrucian literary "code" thus could equally well disrupt authority and liberate alternative voices speaking against the original horizon of expectation formulated by elite writers such as Maier. On the English scene, where Maier spread his poetic-Pythagorean form of Rosicrucianism, and where Robert Fludd used Rosicrucianism to underpin Hermetic cosmology, the providential view of the elect included a will to possess control over those still uninitiated. In a process that remains obscure, Rosicrucianism was gradually adopted by the elaborate masonic bureaucracy.[46] Thus it appears that the Hermetic world was most ideal for universalist sectarians who had no interest in, or sympathy for, those fallen to other sects. Secrecy, the silence of Harpocrates, was the foremost expression of this attitude, as Michael Maier also clearly states. Hermes never said that the expanses of paradise were unlimited; instead, Hermes planted guardians at the gates. Sublime cynicism is an exclusive virtue.

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[45] *Ibid.*, p. 103. The proto-Rosicrucian mystic Julius Sperber worked at Helmstedt. The Helmstedt papers at Wolfenbüttel include a substantial amount of mystical theology, including a virtually unknown Rosicrucian text by Amandis de Stellis on brotherly love. See Michael Maier, *Themis Aurea* (Frankfurt, 1618), pp. 159, 198. Cf. Frances Yates (1986), p. 87.

[46] As Ron Heisler points out, the precise role of Robert Fludd (1574–1637) in early masonic networks remains obscure. Neither his early travels to France and Italy, nor his tutorship in 1604 to Claude de Lorraine and his brother, Charles, fourth Duke of Guise, has been integrated into the picture of his development.

Frawen Zimmer: A Rosicrucian Statement on Würtemberg's Politics

A profound light is cast by another Rosicrucian text, a singular example of the treatment of a fictive female community guarding a universal and practical knowledge. In an elaborate allegory, Rosicrucian praxis is set out as a spiritual alternative joined to the political destiny of Protestant Bohemia, just as the debacle of the White Mountain is approaching, much in the way that Yates argued. The feminine pseudonym "Famagusta" offered the title: *Frawen Zimmer der Schwesteren des Rosinfarben Creutzes* (Parthenopolis, 1620), "i.e., A recent discovery of a Woman's Room, together with the religion, science, godly and natural things, the artisanery, arts, medicine, new inventions, spiritual and loving practises, etc. that may be found therein. All to the end, that other highly and lowly born women [frauenbilder], who not yet have seen this Woman's Room, shall be attracted and introduced to it. With special fervour through the honorable Madam Sophia Christina, Governess of this Woman's Room, now brought to the press. By Famagusta Franco Alemannica." The work room is occupied by a spiritual sorority divided into three grades. The first grade (purgatory) is for maids, the second (illuminative) is for wives, and the third (unitive) is for widows. The sisters search for medical potions to assist in childbirth, they bring home machines for doubling the thread in the art of spinning from cities along the Rhine, they collect and study herbs and spices. Throughout, the Governess Sophia Christina and her helper Magdalena promote a vibrant pietist ideal of devotion joined to theosophy and spiritual alchemy.[47]

Some allegorical paragraphs towards the end of the document that thinly veil dynastic politics would have been of particular interest to Frances Yates and her critics. The Rosicrucians are described as seeking a protector whose kingdom is signified by a Rose, just as the Lily is a symbol for the Gallic monarchy. Now, a great defender of the faith (Fredrick of Würtemberg) has found a Rose-tree (Elisabeth Stuart) that he has transferred to his German garden. Both Oranges and Roses are now intertwining into one branch of the stately appletree and many new small Roses are to be expected. In combining

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[47] In Richard Scherer, ed. *Alchymia—Die Blauen Jungfrau in blauen Gewande, Alchemische texte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Talheimer; Mössingen-Talheim, 1988, pp. 215–244. Mechanical inventions and other scientific wonders are described. Schick dated the copy he read to 1620. So did A. E. Waite. The single copy now in Berlin appears to be misdated or a reprint.

the Cross and the Rose, the Rosicrucians have mediately been pointing to these Roses. A more tragic turn is then taken in describing the political moves before the rise of the Palatine Prince as the Winter King: A bald eagle, pushed out of the Spanish nest and unable to find support in the Netherlands, decided that he nevertheless wanted to ascend to the top of Monarchia, an exalted mountain. As he was too weak to do it himself, the bald bird sought others to fulfill his wish.[48] First, he joined with a golden lily (Henry IV) but that soon was cut down by a knife. The bird gradually grew in strength and a new partner was sought, this time one garnished with a rose, much as was the English bird (James I). But the English bird (Henry of Wales) found by the eagle did not want to grow up, and as the eagle received a negative reply at this door (England) he took some of his own eggs and laid them in the nest of the Dutch maid. But, from the Dutch nest there grew a fierce Arminian crowing cock (Maurice of Nassau), who himself proceeded to hassle all the birds around. However, the great black double-headed eagle of the mountain Monarchia (Rudolph II) suddenly died. Because the bald eagle now began to understand the art of flying, he approached the wealthy multicoloured Paradise bird (Christian IV of Denmark), whose great funds would help him gather the black feathers that would make it possible for him to fly to the mountain top. The art of flying that the bird invented is, however, still uncertain. The bird and his professors will readily admit to this; the balance may not hold and they stand in the greatest danger. Now, a better and assured art of flying is, on the other hand, taught in our Woman's Room on another set of fundamentals. The method will take a person from a lower state to a higher condition, but with determined application anyone with a pair of wings will be able to do it safely. Through repeated practise, the Sisters of the Rosy Cross will perfect this art of flying whatever happens.

This neatly packaged story cannot be taken to show that the original *Fama* played on the same political dimensions, but Famagusta's text amply demonstrates that by 1620, Rosicrucianism was seen in

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[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 219, 238–239. The "setting oneself in danger" on p. 239, "Gleich wie deren einer zu Neuburgk sich hatte vom hohen Evangelischen Kirchturm in die tiefe Speck (alias speculatif) Kammer, des Esautischen Collegij zu Monchen niedergelassen", could well explain the notorious Rosicrucian title *Speck auf der Fall*, meaning not the downfall of Bacon, but of Speculation (Wolfgang of Neuburg converted to Catholicism in 1614).

the context of the Anglo-Würtemberg-Bohemian alliance also by contemporary German writers. It is interesting to note that the Dutch connection is emphasized. Luisa Juliana of Orange, mother of Fredrick V, was daughter of William the Silent, the Protestant martyr. I take it that the bald eagle is meant to represent either Christian of Anhalt-Bernberg or Christian von Dohna, Governor of Orange, both chief political representatives of the Palatinate. The interesting thing about Famagusta's pamphlet is that there is no tone of irony in making the Rose-Cross sisters set up an ideal community; but, if the author was female there is no clue to her identity.

It is easy to see that the interpretation of the Rose Cross varied, yet after Schick's publication of the list of documents, discussions of the identity of the Rosicrucian movement rarely have been based on a view of how the texts in 1610–1620 unfolded. On the whole, it is useful to divide the Rosicrucian tradition into three distinct branches, each taking its own direction:

1. The interpretation emphasizing a deepening of the Protestant reformation, developing through Johan Arndt and J. V. Andreae, and primarily represented in Andreae's utopian fiction *Christianopolis*. As Montgomery suggests, it was a conscious attempt to institute a Lutheran regeneration in opposition to the more occult Rosicrucians. The trend is later taken up by Pietists, such as Spener and Francke.
2. The interpretation coloured by theosophy and Joachimist millenarianism, represented in the *Naometria* and developing through Brocardo, Postel, Roeslin, Studion, Gutman, Sperber, Link, Hess, Adami, and Besold, and having a permanent influence in the Würtemberg theological seminary. It lives on in early eighteenth century Joachimism, with Tübingen theologians such as Johan Adolf Bengel and Friderich Christoph Oetinger.
3. The interpretation based on Paracelsism and on planetary, angelic, and talsimanic magic aligned to the Arabo-Latin doctrine of the great conjunctions and to the mystical devices designed by Johannes Trithemius and John Dee. Rosicrucians of this brand include Haselmayer, Wideman, Eglinus, Lotich, Bureus, Morsius, Ziegler, Maier, and Fludd.

One source of confusion has been that in all three modes of interpretation, mystical wedding symbolism are employed to represent the regeneration of the soul (either by joining the soul to the Church,

by joining animus to anima, or by magically fusing the supernal with the infernal, heaven to earth). However, while Andreae's development tends towards Lutheran Pietism, those who utilize the other two modes develop the non-Christian aspects of universal knowledge. This became clear in 1619 with the Rosicrucian Heinrich Nollius' academic definition of the term "pansophia" as covering the two branches "theosophia" and "the science of nature," the latter meant to focus on the Sabéan arts, alchemy and astronomy.

While reformers of the Tübingen school were to continue to adhere to aspects of thinking in groups 1 and 2 (to Lutheran eschatology), the earlier mysticism expressed in writings of Postel and Dee belong to 2 and 3 (to Joachimism and Arabo-Latin astrology). Yet, this fragmentation is partly illusionary, for the mediating link between these positions is found in the "proto-Rosicrucian" works of Helisaeus Roeslin. It is consequently not an anomaly to find that Campanella's ideas on magical reform of the Church reflect material in all three groups, as do the Rosicrucian ideas of Bureus, Morsius, and Franckenberg. Thus, the debate about Andreae's pietist turn makes clear that a definition of *Rosicrucianism proper* must draw on the macro-micro cosmic relations of influence assumed in groups 2 and 3 (each respectively representing, in Fludd's terms, the Golden and the Rosy Cross). By stopping short of angelic magic and by denying access to the secrets of nature in the infernal realm, Andreae would fail to be a real Rosicrucian.

The arguments for excluding Andreae from the authorship of the *Fama*—a text clearly aligned with the third branch above—are not very strong, however. Andreae's knowledge of Studion's chronological predictions is from Tobias Hess, who himself also wrote apocalyptic prophecies. Yet, the family crest and the name of the knight should justly be attributed to Andreae, while perhaps other elements in the *Fama*, such as the journey to the Orient, may have been added by some other hand. Carlos Gilly's documentary project shows that there was a copy in Tübingen of the 1609 redaction of *Cabala Mystica—the Book of Sacred Magic* attributed to Abraham ben Simeon of Worms, prefaced by his memoir begun at the death of his father on the sixth in the month of Tebeth, 1379. Addressing his son Lamech, Abraham describes a journey that he undertook in 1397 through Bavaria, Tyrol, and Hungary to Constantinople, and from there to kabbalists and magicians in Palestine and Egypt. Many years later, near the Nile in 1409, Abraham ben Simon found a

profound master, the Aramaic speaking Rabbi Abraham Elim, who taught him the Divine Mysteries. Before this, in 1404, Abraham ben Simon undertook a journey from Palestine into Arabia accompanied by a Christian youth, Christoph.[49] Neither the youth nor the destination of the journey is described any further; in a single sentence Abraham says that he left Christoph to return to Worms. As was suggested already in 1611, this youth provided the author of the *Fama* with a literary model for developing the character of Christian Rosencreutz. However, nowhere in the document is there any discussion of the secret city of the Queen of Sheba, Damear, nor of the *axiomata* of the heavenly wheel, making it at best a partial locus of inspiration for the *Fama.*

Helisaeus Roeslin and Simon Studion's Celestial Wheel

The influences on the writer of the *Fama* are laid out in the research of Will-Erich Peuckert, a German scholar working on materials that in part have since disappeared in Second World War bombings. Peuckert saw the Rosicrucians somewhat vaguely as an offshoot of a larger school of Pansophism, but, he also provided new material on the background of the millenarian calculations on the Second Coming of Christ in Simon Studion's manuscript *Naometria sive nuda et prima libri intus et foris scripti per clavem Davidis et calamum virgae similem apertio*, begun according to Studion's own account in Tübingen in 1592 and given in complete form to Duke Fredrik IV of Würtemberg in 1604. Simon Studion (1543–1606) worked as a Lutheran pastor at Marbach outside Stuttgart. Few details are known about his life, but Studion did study history with Martin Crusius (1526–1607) at Tübingen, and he continued to have contacts there, particularly with Tobias Hess. Studion attained some stature as an academic poet, and there is a beautiful poem by him printed among verse presented in 1570 at the funeral of Jacob Brenz, the Lutheran Theologian.[50]

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[49] August of Anhalt-Plötzkau to Carl Wideman 29 July 1611 asking to see a copy of the *Buch der wahren Practic von der alten Magia*, see Carlos Gilly (1994), pp. 134, 146. For the question of authenticity, compare the fragmentary Hebrew version now at the Bodleian, Oxford MS. Opp. 594, described by Rapahel Patai (1994), pp. 271–288.

[50] *Leichpredigt von Jacob Heerbrandt über Jacob Brenz*, Tübingen, 1570. Print in Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel. Studion appears to have worked with Nicodemus Frischlin, the poet laureate at Tübingen.

While Crusius was an authority in classics, he also wrote a celebrated *Schwäbische Chronik* on medieval history. One of his more remarkable ideas is a plan for reconciling the Greek Orthodox Church and the Evangelicals, an initiative, however, that was turned down by the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1575. In support of this Byzantine endeavour, Crusius had prepared a volume of Jakob Andreae's letters on the divergence among the evangelical sects and had them translated into Greek. The Patriarch replied, however, that no temporal mutation was significant to the Kingdom of Christ. The Kingdom will instead come to fruition in those who follow the Good Pastor in whom Christ shines like a sensible sun. By resting in contemplation on these things, the Patriarch writes, one will receive the eternal glorious crown and be granted the celestial kingdom, built on the cornerstone of Christ.[51] This interesting reply and assertion of Byzantine authority probably reached the younger Andreae's eyes or ears. Crusius was in any case pleased to see the young brothers Andreae in his class; in 1603, he records that Johan Valentin visited his class on Cicero. In 1597, another student of Crusius, Tobias Hess, read Studion's *Naometria* in manuscript and started to develop his own apocalyptic predictions. Hess searched for further details in the millenarian commentaries on Genesis and the Song of Songs by the Italian unionist Jacob Brocardo. It was through Hess that Andreae learned of Studion's ideas.[52]

Naometria means "the measurement of the holy place." In it, Studion works out a chronology for the rebuilding of the Temple and calculates the time of the Second Coming. In an important analysis, Robin Bruce Barnes has shown that Studion partly relies on the mystical number reckoning of Eustachius Poyssel, whose *Der Schlüssel David, Esaie: 22. Apocalip: 3.* (n.p., 1594) focuses on the recent Calvinist takeover in Saxony and the threatened fate of Lutheranism in the Palatine realm of Fredrick IV. Proceeding by describing the Teutonic Order during the mid-medieval reign of the millenarian Emperor Fredrik II of Hohenstaufen (declared anathema in 1240), Studion aggressively predicts the crucifying of the Pope in 1620 (punning on 1260 as a failed Joachimite prediction for the millennnium). As with Poyssel, Studion locates the Second Advent in 1623.

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[51] Martin Crusius, *Turco-graeca*, Basel, 1584, pp. 420–422. The original Greek letter with a Latin translation are in the papers of Michael Maestlin, at 15.3 Aug. Fol. ff. 261–262v. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

[52] J. W. Montgomery (1973), pp. 31–32, 205.

The reckoning is laboriously subtle and each of Studion's two manuscripts counts to over a thousand pages of biblical commentary and prophecy on the turn of events after the rise of Luther and Zwingli in 1521 and 1528. The reformist activity of Luther's protector, Duke Fredrick of Brandenburg (d. 1525), is coordinated with the apocalyptic rider of the White Horse. Conclusions are drawn on the rise of Henry of Navarre and Emperor Rudolph II. In a central and much debated phrase, Studion states that negotiations for an evangelical union among Protestant princes and electors took place at Lüneburg in July 1586 with diplomatic representatives from France, Britain, and Denmark. The standard objection has been that no documents recording such a meeting have ever been produced. Yet, it is notable that the Danish emissars Veit Winsheim, Henrik Rantzau, and Breide Rantzau were sent in the same year on diplomatic journeys to Bremen. The Rantzaus went on to the court of Henry of Navarre to offer a marriage proposal from the Prince of Denmark, which, however, politely was denied.[53]

Before I address the diplomatic evidence, it is in order to present the contents of Studion's two manuscripts. Subtle calculations indicate that the year 1590 will emerge as a decisive historical turning point, a year of mutation. In particular, Studion offers a significant numerical computation on the Hebrew words for Rose and Lily (in Hebrew "hebsaleh" and "shushanna"), yielding 530 + 661, adding up to 1191, the year of the founding of the Teutonic Order. Similarly, Studion's militia evangelica is dwelling *sub rosa et lilio*. One image in the text can be interpreted as a protean Rose Cross: a round black cross is set within seven concentric circles overlaid by petal-shaped markings for numerical figures, thus forming a rose. Studion calls it the entrance of the four archangels to the Temple.[54] Studion's proto-Rosicrucian ideas thus are firmly linked to the Teutonic Order and to Fredrick of Brandenburg as the protector of the Lutheran reform.

Studion now mixes the quest for the new Jerusalem with suggestions for a historically determined political alliance. The alliance is signified by a cloven Cross to which are joined two extra down-sloping arms.

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[53] See Emil Marquard, *Danske gesandter og gesandtskapspersonale indtil 1914*, Munksgaard; Köpenhavn, 1952. A thorough search in their papers might reveal more evidence of the Lüneburg-meeting.

[54] Robert Bruce Barnes (1988), p. 198. A. E. Waite (1922), p. 641, quoting Studion f. 271 for the cross with five plus eight petals, Rose Cross and f. 1673 for the rose and lily. The Tau cross of the Teutonic order f. 69 and on f. 565 appears a star called Crux Salvatoris. In the first version, the star of 1572 appears on f. 115.

An appendix to the 1604 edition, called *Hieroglyphica Simone Studionis*, delivers a political instruction in a six part motet, set to horns, strings, and the human voice, written by Johannes Brauhart, a cantor at Marbach. The song expresses hopes that Henry IV of France and James I of England with Fredrick of Würtemberg shall initiate a new confederation, praised by the text:

> The Lily nurtures the Nymph; the Lion benymphs; The Fortress the Lion. Further, all is signified in the image of the CROSS: the speedy Roman emperors (Quirini) shall ravish the Sun and Moon. Let God be sustained by them (Lily, Nymph, and Lion). The earthern-born Lily from the circle will bring forth, the wave of the sea will cast forth the Lion, Arctophylax will breed the Nymph and her confederates.[55]

The significance of the astral sign Arctophylax, or Bootes, the Herdsman, remains unclear. Bootes is situated next to Ursa Major and could be taken to point to the north, among other things. Some are reminded of its use in Spencer's *Faerie Queene* and recall that Arcturus, the bear-keeper, King Arthur, is its brightest star. Readers farther to the north cannot fail to notice that Bootes is situated between Corona Borealis and what British astronomers sixty years later baptized Carolis Cor.

The significant subtitle to the second version of Studion's manuscript, *prognosticus Stellae illius . . . 1572, conspectae ductu, in crucifera militia evangelica gratiam*, draws attention to the new star of 1572, the super nova. In its most central image (the last plate of the manuscript), Studion sets out an emblematic construction, seven candelabra and seven swords and two great pyramids forming a wheel of the heavens on which comets are tracked.

As Adam McLean observes, the candelabra have 40 nodes in 16 levels, where each level measures an interval of 120 years; the corresponding swords have only 16 nodes on 16 levels, creating a complex chronology of years. The construction also correlates the seven planets and the seven churches, the twelve tribes of Israel and the twelve disciples, and the two corner stones and the twelve precious stones upon which the New Jerusalem is to be founded according to Revelations 21:24. As McLean argues, "each Church together with

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[55] It is sung by three voices (sic) Ros, Star, and Lily: Lilia nympham colit: Nymphare Leo. Castra Leonem./ Caetera: quos omnes signat imago CRUCIS./ Vastabunt Solem, Lunam, volucerique Quirini./ Auxilare Deo Lilia, Nympha, Leo./ Lilia Terrea Rotae mittet: maris unda Leonem,/ Nympham cum Sociis proferet Arctophylax.

its 'star' (the sword) rules a period of 240 years, with the sevenfold cycle coming to an end in 1620."[56]

The cycles are reminiscent of, but not identical with, the seven angelic periods set out in Johannes Trithemius' *De septem secundeis intelligentijs sive spiritibus orbes post Deum moventibus* (Cologne, 1547), a work drawing upon the Arabic work on the great planetary conjunctions, Abu Ma'shar's *De magnis coniunctionibus et annorum revolutionibus*. The septenary chronology of Trithemius follows the Platonic month of 2160 years divided into six-fold periods of 354 years and 4 months. The Platonic year measures the period it takes the seven planets and the fixed stars to return to the same position relative to the earth and to themselves (*Timaeus* 39 c–d). Trithemius lists the names of the seven angels controlling these periods as: Orifiel (Saturn), Anael (Venus), Zachariel (Jupiter), Raphael (Mercury), Samael (Mars), Gabriel (Moon), and Michael (Sun).[57]

In effect, Studion's seven candelabras are to replace the Chaldean Zodiac, and the sequence of times (from Constantine to the present) operates within the medieval prophetic framework set up by Joachim di Fiore. The loss of the Holy Land to the Moslims at the fall of Acre in 1291 caused Christian observers to revive the Joachimite theory of "double sevens", a set of parallells between "seven periods" of the Old Testament and the "seven ages" of the Church under the New Testament. Studion rebuilt these medieval theories with the aim of predicting the fall of Rome as Anti-Christ. Studion's massive manuscript can thus be seen as a summation of the many sixteenth century Protestant attempts to adapt the threefold Joachimite scheme to the Sabéan seven ages and to coordinate them with recent astronomical phenomena, predicting that the new age will begin at the turn of the century, after 1600.[58]

Studion's idea of a Franco-Anglo-German alliance was inspired by a diplomatic meeting taking place in July 1586 when, as he states,

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[56] Adam McLean, *A Compendium on the Rosicrucian vault*, Hermetica Research Series; Edinburgh, 1986, pp. 97–101. Reproduced from the manuscript of the *Naometria*, at Würtembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Cod. Theol. 2,34 and 4,23.

[57] Tritheim is said to have taken this planetary theory from the *Conciliator* of Pietro De Abano (1250–1316), in turn a commentary on Averroes.

[58] On Joachim, see Robin Bruce Barnes (1988), pp. 224–225. Also Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis—The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274–1314*, Clarendon Press; Oxford, 1991, pp. 122–123. Note that the Hermeticist Heinrich Nollius wanted to form a new group in 1625 under the rubric, "the keepers of the celestial wheel (rotae celestae)."

an assembly of evangelicals took the name *cruce signati* when they met at Lüneburg, a small town situated between Lübeck and Braunschweig, to discuss whether "to adopt a new cross" as a sign for the Third Age of the Spirit.[59] This would be a spiritual order in defence against the schemes of the Roman Counter Reformation. Studion thus attempts an imaginative inversion of Marino Sanudo's *Liber Secretorum Fedelium Crucis* (1321), an influential crusading tract suggesting a detailed plan for a maritime blockade of Egypt. This plan of commercial war derived from a proposal in 1293 by Charles II of Anjou, the titular King of Jerusalem, arguing for a fusion of the military orders, setting up a permanent army with a uniform organization, a warrior king, and a general council to prepare for the crusade, all ideas found at the same time in writings of Ramon Lull, the Catalan mystic. Sanudo's point was that the fleet must be manned by *crucesignati* responding to the call, instead of as in foregoing papal-Hospitaller expeditions by professional *stipendiarii*.[60]

Actually, if one places Studion's wheel on top of the cometary sphere drawn up by the Paracelsian astronomer Helisaeus Roeslin, one will find that there is a perfect match. Roeslin, a friend and rival of Johannes Kepler, offers one of the earliest heliocentric cometographies *Theoria nova Coelestium Meteoron* (Wittenberg, 1578). His celestial model is constructed not through a coordination to the planetary orbs, but out of the stellar coordinates and the two solstices, and shows the precise paths of the comets of 1533, 1556, 1577, and the great nova of 1572.[61] Studion thus makes imaginative use of the fact that Fredrick III of Würtemberg was born after the comet of 1556. Based on Roeslin's careful record, Studion's naometrian stargazing scheme was brilliantly confirmed by the comet in the cross-shaped sign of the Swan in 1602. There immediately was a gross growth in expectations among Würtemberg Reformed theologians. Some, such as Tobias Hess, Abraham Hölzel, and Johan Valentin Andreae, prepared for a full scale evangelical crusade and the legend of Christian Rosencreutz was born.

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[59] *Naometria*, f. 34, stella nova f. 49. On the "cruce signati", Will-Erich Peuckert, *Das Rosenkreutz*, 2nd ed. Berlin, 1973, pp. 4, 30. A. E. Waite (1922), p. 641. Cf. n. 33 above.

[60] Sylvia Schein (1991), pp. 204–205.

[61] Roeslin (1578), ch. ix, *Naometria*, f. 505. Other aspects of the computations may derive from Elchanon Paul, a converted Jew at Prague, *Mysterium novum . . . verdeckt in den Hebräischen Buchstaben*, Vienna, 1582, cf. Ruth Tatlow, *Bach and the Riddle of the Number Alphabet*, Cambridge Univ. Press; Cambridge, 1991, p. 130.

A vital aspect of Roeslin's cometary scheme and apocalyptic writings under the medieval pseudonym "Lampertus Floridus" was the new theology and calculations incorporated from Guillaume Postel, showing that Roeslin transformed mystical number reckoning into a bipartisan Franco-Germanic concern for the fate of Alsace-Lorraine. Astrological theories on the state and mutations of times had spread to Paris from reforming circles in Venice, where scholars tried to raise popular consciousness by predicting the end of the world. Extant manuscripts in Postel's hand show him to identify with the mystical title "Jambaptiste Rorisperge astrologue souverain."[62] In line with this influence, Roeslin records Postel's observations on the supernova of 1572 and adopts Postel's millenarian scheme on the "time, times, and half a time" of Daniel 12:7. As noted in the previous chapter, Bureus also borrowed these dates from Postel. Roeslin twice refers directly to Postel in *Theoria nova*; in paragraph XIV he uses language with clear Postellian flavour: "ad tempus restitutionem omnium secundo suo qui intra nos fit advento per spiritus sancti cooperationem . . . non in verbis sive in ostentatione spiritu."[63] What is important to notice here is that Roeslin abandons Postel's concentration on DILUVIUM (or 1567 by summing up the Roman letters) and instead concentrates his predictions on the years 1614, 1656, and 1694, years that he sees as prefigured in the debate concerning the supernova set out by Thaddeus Hayek, Cornelis Gemma, and Postel. The resulting chronology is unusually convincing since Roeslin can give an accurate description of the paths of the comets in the new heliocentric model and provides their precise periods of recurrence. The influence of Roeslin's cometography on Simon Studion's cometary system undoubtedly means that Studion had read Roeslin's passages about Postel in the same volume. The diplomatic activity of Ségur-Pardaillon adds evidence that there really was discussion of forming a northern alliance of Joachimite/Postellian millenarians in 1586, the "cruce signati," just as the *Naometria* states. What is more, new evidence shows that Roeslin launched his career by offering extraordinary eschatological calculations to the Swedes.

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[62] On Postel's astrology, see Marion Leathers Kuntz (1981), p. 149. Cf. Richard Roussel, *Livre de l'Estat et Mutation des Temps, prouvant par autoritez de l'Escripture Saincte, & par raison astrologales, la fin du monde estre prochaine*, Chez Guillaume Rouillé, á l'Escu de Venise; Lyon, 1550 (Gutenberg reprint, Corbière; Alencon, 1981).

[63] Helisaeus Roeslin, *Theoria Nova Caelestion Meteoron in qua explurium cometarum phoenomenis Epilogisticos quaedam afferuntur, de novis tertiae cuiusdam miraculorum sphaerae polis et axi . . .*, Strassburg, 1578. Proposition XIIII.

Roeslin and Paul Grebner's European Silk Thread

Helisaeus Roeslin (1544–1616) is believed to be the son of a Pastor at Pleiningen outside Stuttgart in Würtemberg. In his historical-political discourse of 1609, he speaks of his contacts among theologians at the collegio Martiniano in Tübingen. He says that he started out forty years earlier by learning astronomy and alchemy with Philip Grauern at Carlsburg in Baden-Durlach, thus around 1569.[64] He was soon given over to work in practical alchemy with the Paracelsian Samuel Eisenmengern of Pforzheim, doctor to the Palatine Prince Georg Johan of the Rhine and a well known follower of the trinitarian mystic Caspar Schwenkfeldt. Roeslin continued to have a particular interest in Elsass, and after the nova of 1572 he went to study history and chronology at Saarbrücken. By 1578, Roeslin was appointed medical doctor to the Bishop of Strassburg and he corresponded with the astronomer Michael Maestlin at Heidelberg. Roeslins' son, Nicolaus, registered as a student at the University of Tübingen in 1591.[65]

Roeslin let circulate his first calculations in a millenarian work of 1579, *Speculum et Harmonia mundi*, a manuscript text in folio. The *Speculum* built on some brief insights formulated in his ten-page manuscript, *Bedencken und Censur über Pauli Grebneri Apparitiones oder göttliche Erscheinungen Sericum Mundi filum.*[66] Here, Roeslin comments upon a prolix millenarian exposition that the Lüneburg school-master Paul Grebner offered in May 1574 to Duke Johan Fredrick of Brandenburg at Magdeburg. Grebner arranged his prophecies as a sequence of "Europeische Seidenfaden," of apocalyptic banners swept by the Atlantic winds. Grebner claims to have received these visions as he left his study chamber on the eve before the day of St. John the Baptist, or 23 June, 1573. It apparently began with a vision of the

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[64] Helisaeus Roeslin, *Historisch-Politischer und Astronomischer Discurs—von Heutiger Zeit beschaffenheit Anno 1600 erschienenden Wunderzeichen sonderlich des Cometens anno 1607 genommen . . .*, Strassburg, 1609.

[65] The entry in the rolls specifically mentions "Helisaeus", the boy's father, and his residence at Hagenau, see Heinrich Hermelink, ed. *Die Matrikel der Universität Tübingen*, Stuttgart, 1906, vol. i, p. 694.

[66] Ms. 30 Aug. fol. ff. 457–446. Herzog August Bibliotek, Wolfenbüttel. The manuscript was later in the custody of Gebhardt II Truchsessen von Waldburg, Kurfurst of Cologne, to whom Grebner ascribes Banners 258–259 on an extra inserted page at f. 393. Roeslin also mentions Truchsessen in a statement from 24 December, 1586, dealing with the comet of 1580 and the French Huguenot problem from 24 December, 1586 at MS. 32.16 Aug. Fol. ff. 298–298'. HAB, Wolfenbüttel.

new star of 1572. Grebner saw it as a boiling pot soon to cook over; stirred by the recent atrocities in France against Huguenots on the night of St. Bartholemew, Grebner does not hesitate to baptize these actions, "the conspiratorial schemes of the Catholic Guise-Lorraine faction." Significantly, on the 11th Banner, Grebner calls for a counter-force and foresees "a council of all learned drawn out from every kind of clearing and garden." Then, after an envisioned German-Lutheran invasion of France, the 79th Banner announces that "the council will meet again and the prospects are ripe for a silvery, golden, well celebrated and everlasting Age."[67]

Even more significant is that ten years later Grebner expanded the manuscript with one hundred new "banners", now as a *Sericum Mundi Filum*, in which he argued for a Leonine alliance among European Protestants, directed in the first instance against the House of Burgundy in the Spanish Netherlands.[68] The approaching savage wars of revenge would end with the final return of the Messiah and the election of "Christian August", the Elector Prince of Saxony, as German Emperor.[69] In a preface, Grebner explains that he had been summoned to Hamburg in August 1586 for a visit with Ségur-Pardaillon, the diplomat of the House of Navarre, who together with a suit of illustrious men, including the British emissar Sir Thomas Bodley, persuaded him to translate his visions into Latin.[70]

One manuscript was given to Queen Elisabeth of England and is now preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge. This manuscript has been badly damaged, but the astrologer William Lilly claims to have received an exact copy "thirteen years ago" from one "R. M. Knight" and describes it in his *Monarchy or no Monarchy* (London, 1651). Lilly quotes Grebner saying "The Lyon having the Rose shall utterly destroy the Pope; so that after there shall be never any Popes."[71]

Startling as it is, Grebner's text provides the long sought for link between British Protestant diplomacy and German apokalypticists,

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[67] Ms. 35.2 Aug. fol. HAB, Wolfenbüttel.
[68] Ms. 30 Aug. fol. HAB, Wolfenbüttel, nos. 28, 29, 42.
[69] *Ibid.*, f. 128'.
[70] *Ibid.*, f. 42.
[71] William Lilly (1651), p. 24. As Ron Hesiler shows Thomas Brightman in 1644 quotes James Maxwell's s *Admirable and notable Prophecies* (1615), p. 1085: "Paulus Secundus ad Grebnerus of Misma" with Grebner saying "The Lion with a Rose and a Lilly on his armes shall utterly destroy the Pope; so that afterwards there shall never be any more Pope."

for Grebner influenced Studion's text, the prophecy of a Franco-Anglo-German union from which the early Rosicrucian circles emerged. The report of his expression "the Lyon having the Rose" indicates that Grebner was influenced by the contemporary British Protestant bid in the Netherlands. The phrase is not found in the manuscript copies in Wolfenbüttel, where instead a host of Lions appear, with the Prince of Denmark as the Lion with the anchor. Was Grebner perhaps hoping to see Sir Philip Sidney as the Lyon with the Rose, even so persuaded by Thomas Bodley?

In the manuscript preserved at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Grebner draws in vivid colour an illustration of his statement that a European council of anti-papal forces led by Ségur-Pardaillon met in Lüneburg in the summer of 1586. It appears, however, that Grebner saw this council convene in an internal vision or dream that he had shortly *before* the actual meeting with Pardaillon and Bodley at Hamburg. Somehow, by 1592 Grebner's record of this meeting had reached the ears of Simon Studion in Würtemberg.[72]

Now, in his *Speculum* of 1579, Helisaeus Roeslin calculates the arrival of the seventh age by analysing the sequence of German Emperors from Clodwig through Charlemagne to Carl V and Rudolph II, and similarly for the French Kings from Pharamond through Hugo Capet to Henry III. Harmonies (of 7, 14, 28, 56, 112) are shown to arise in the years of replacement of Kings taken together with the years of replacement for the Popes and Bishops of Rome. Great "mutations" are shown to have occurred within regular time periods. Various critical years from 1572 and 1577 add up to birth-pangs for the New Age in 1582–83, but, significantly, all sequences eventually point to 1614.

In 1580, Roeslin dedicated a manuscript of the first volume to the Swedish King Johan III and a second manuscript (now at Helmstedt) with the same contents to Johan's brother, later King Carl IX. Their sister Anna Wasa had been married since 1564 to Georg Hans of Baden-Valdeck-Lützelstein, Roeslin's immediate patron. In his dedications to the Swedes, Roeslin draws attention to the significance of the new star of 1572 and to the comet of 1577. The manuscript

[72] *Ibid.*, f. 74'. The 35th Banner. Grebner's drawing of the council at Lüneburg includes a table with Catholic representatives, showing that Grebner was envisioning the council rather than reporting on the actual meeting. However, Venetian reports on the Lüneburg meeting have recently been discovered in British State Papers by Ron Heisler.

is only the first installment of a three-part work, Weltspiegel, Naturspiegel, and Kirchenspiegel. Roeslin urges the reading of his reckoning, but while a world chronology of this sort has been worked on by the learned for the last sixty years (since the Reformation), he has not felt that it should be published. The document in Stockholm seems well read and handled and was for a time deposited at Skokloster among the papers of Abraham Brahe, a nobleman skilled in astronomy, whose father, Per Brahe, it is to be remembered, was recognized as a crypto-Catholic. As royal archivalist, Bureus almost certainly had access to it. The second manuscript dedicated to Duke Carl later came into the custody of August of Anhalt-Plötzkau, perhaps as a gift from Carl himself.[73]

Roeslin's offer of the manuscripts to the two Swedish Royal brothers coincided with their war against Catholic influence in the Baltic. Johan and Carl had made themselves known for imprisoning their insane half-brother, King Erik XIV, and also for refusing to recognize imperial authority in Livonia. Johan III was planning further military advance in Russia, and in 1580 put Narva and Novgorod under threat. Imperial attempts to resurrect the Teutonic Order in Livonia came to nought. At the same time, Johan III increasingly strove towards a doctrinal reconciliation with the Catholic Church. He launched a liturgical reform in 1576 by arguing for a new conformity of Catholic and Orthodox ritual. His instrument of liturgical reform, the infamous "Red Book," was fiercly opposed to by the clergy and it was to cause civil war. Duke Carl gradually fought his way to the Swedish throne by deposing Johan's Catholic son, Sigismund Vasa. Roeslin might have felt that the liturgical controversy of King Johan prepared the Swedes for his ideas on miraculous mutation. Many observers saw a leaning towards Calvinism in Duke Carl's reformist activism, even more so when he began to style himself with crosswise bangs upon his brow.

Because of the disturbances of war, Roeslin had to flee Elsass for Hagenau in 1592 where he became court doctor of Prince Georg Fredrick of Baden-Durlach. Roeslin says that it was during this period that he first started seriously to study Hebrew, being drawn to it through "Cabala." Christian Kabbalist time reckoning thrived in the

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[73] MS. E 8635, Skoklostersamlingen. Riksarkivet, Stockholm. The second manuscript dedicated to Carl IX, now as MS. 23 B3, Halle UB. I thank Carlos Gilly for pointing out this version of the manuscript. On Abraham Brahe, see Ch. III below.

Protestant milieu of mathematical discovery, where logarithms and other new counting procedures were introduced. Roeslin published his own Pythagorean-Paracelsian compendium *Theses de opere Dei creationis* (1597), assisted by the French diplomat Jacob Bongars, preacher and former advisor to King Henry III. Bongars was deeply involved with the Joachimite interpretations presented by the Italian heretic Jacob Brocardo, and some of these dramatic unfoldings may have been discussed when Bongars showed Roeslin his own chronicle on the Franks and their crusades to Jerusalem (Cf. Appendix III). In 1581, Roeslin travelled to Paris with the adventurous Georg Hans of Baden, but they did not meet Postel in person, as he had died shortly before.[74]

Helisaeus Roeslin did a good deal, however, to spread the influence of Postel in Germany. In his historical-political discourse of 1609, he warns of the situation in Elsass-Lothringen and makes references to a catastrophe that he has predicted for 1604 involving the King of France. To prove this, Roeslin shows that the new star of 1572 signalled very decisive political changes, leading up to the murder of Henry III and the conversion of Henry IV. He even points to the rise of the new king in Sweden, Carl IX.

The conclusions of Roeslin's *Speculum* first appeared in print at Amersbach in 1605 in a pirated edition of excerpts from a treatise by Kepler on the new star of 1604, now dedicated to Rudolph II. In this document, Roeslin's chronological machinations pointing to 1613 as a year of great change was for the first time printed, a mystical reckoning that Roeslin had already summed up in his answer to Grebner as if in a compendium in the word IVDICIVM. A year earlier, the French court alchemist Quercetanus (Joseph Duchèsne) had published a reply to Roeslin, entitled *Speculum Ecclesiae contra anonymam* (Paris, 1604), whereby the argument received wide attention. Roeslin's arguments had clearly spread in manuscript to an important Protestant audience long before Quercetanus' political disclosure.

The close connection between the theories of Roeslin and Postel is also pointed to in van Franckenberg's edition of Postel's *Clavis Absconditorum* (Amsterdam, 1646). Here, Roeslin is used as a source for the fact that Postel died in September 1581, at, as it was erroneously believed, an age of 130 years. The false story of Postel's

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[74] P. Diesner, "Leben und Streben des elsässichen Artztes Helisaeus Roeslin" in *Elsass-Lothringische Jahrbuch* 14 (1935): 115–141.

great age had spread in France, for it was believed that since his beard had not turned grey, he had found the elixir. Franckenberg refers to the seventh chapter of Roeslin's *De Expeditione Aquilo Nautica et Stella Nova*—a text identical to his *Mitternächtige Schiffart . . . an Septentrion* (Oppenheim, 1611)—in which an attempt at finding the north-east passage to Cathay is promoted. Changes in the polar magnetic field can be expected after the emergence of the new Star, Roeslin conjectures, now in polemic with Johannes Kepler.[75] Roeslin goes on to predict great wealth for the northern region if only an expedition is launched from Denmark and England to find the passage, as hinted at in Postel's location of Paradise in Novaya Zemlya.

For one thing, the Roeslin/Kepler debate on the significance of the new star of 1603/04 influenced the authors of the *Confessio*. By 1609, Kepler had clearly perceived the Protestant zest in Roeslin's activity and ironically remarked that while he himself in his *Mysterium Cosmographicum* (Tübingen, 1596) had worked out a theory enveloping the great conjunctions as "a prodromus to all cosmological writings," Roeslin now showed an enormous zeal for publishing the *Speculum Mundi* as "a prodromus to all chronological writings."[76] In his Tübingen work, Kepler had discovered and described the mysterious triangular pattern formed by the already known periodic succession of great conjunctions through the zodiacal trigons, the four sections of the heavens coordinated to the four elements. Saturn and Jupiter align themselves every 20 years and their conjunctions mysteriously move through the zodiac so that every 200 years they pass to a new trigon, thus, in 1604 the conjunction will pass from the watery to the fiery trigon, leaving Pisces for that of Sagittarius. The whole zodiac is passed through every 800 years. Astrologers were accustomed to noticing that the conjunctions are accompanied by decisive events; expectation rose even higher because the coming 200 years in the fiery trigon was to be the seventh of such cycles since the beginning of time. Having the larger picture in mind, Kepler announced in *De Nova Stella* (Prague, 1606) that Noah was born in about the year −2400, Moses −1600, Isaiah −800, Jesus Christ 0,

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[75] *Ibid.*, Chapter VI. Cf. Guillaume Postel, *Cosmographicae disciplina compendium* (Basel, 1561) and his *Clavis Absconditorum* in van Franckenberg, ed. (Amsterdam, 1646), preface.

[76] Jean Kepler, *Le secret du monde* (traduction et notes de Alain Segonds) Gallimard; Paris, 1984, pp. 203, 205, 240.

while Charlemagne flourished in +800, and Rudolph II in +1600.[77]

What Kepler disliked about Roeslin's theory of historical mutation was its excessive precision and lack of real astronomical support. This was in keeping with his later polemic with Robert Fludd in his *Harmonices Mundi* (1620) where Kepler argued that even if the great cosmological harmonies are recognized by chemists, Hermeticists, and Paracelsians, they belong properly only to mathematicians. Kepler's persistent critique of Roeslin in 1604–11 at the same time shows that the Roeslin-as-Lampertus-Floridus manuscripts already had reached an eager apocalyptic audience. This audience surely included the writers of the *Fama* and *Confessio*. The link between Roeslin's reckoning concerning IVDICIVM and the chronology of Simon Studion, taken together with Roeslin's Franco-German concern in *Speculum Mundi*, thus opens new perspectives on the formation of the Rosicrucians.

Rosicrucianism and the Bohemian War

If one wants to understand how the group around Simon Studion gained in influence, the political context of the 1590s must be carefully calibrated with the hopes set out at Tübingen in 1610. The Rosicrucian ideas were published in a period when political activities were set in motion to form an evangelical union in Germany, a union that (according to Studion in 1604) sought support in France, Britain, and Denmark. The rise of Johannes Bureus in Sweden, on the other hand, confirms Frances Yates' hypothesis that political initiatives in the Thirty Years' War were influenced by Rosicrucian types of eschatology both before 1610 and after 1620. This notwithstanding that the year of the defeat at Prague in most of the recent literature has been transformed into a Rosicrucian *anno non post quem*, underlined by such writings as Paul Nagel's *Cursus Quinquenali Mundi oder Wundergeheime Offenbarung* (Halle, Saxonia, 1620) stating that the whole course of history would repeat itself within the course of four years before the bitter end: "1624 nec plus ultra." Of course, Nagel was immediately attacked by a Jesuit author claiming that his doctrine of compressed repetition was a mere stage-play, falsely transposed to the scene of reality.

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[77] *Ibid.*, p. 215 quoting *De Stella Nova* in pede Sepentario (Prague, 1606), p. 183.

The centrality of the events in 1620 is, on the other hand, confirmed by the Baltic events. Although Frances Yates' scenario was only very partially spelled out (Dee's connection to Sidney remained obscure), she did not err entirely in explaining the *printing* of the Rosicrucian pamphlets as related to the events after the death of Rudolph II in 1612 and the Würtemberg marriage in 1613. While the printing of the manifestos took place at Hesse-Kassel in 1614, they had already been welcomed by the political maneuverist Ludwig of Anhalt by 1612, even though he had no clue as to their origin. The Paracelsian rostrum drew new adherents with violent visions, and the Rosicrucian prints underlined the need for a new reform. The debate had some role in encouraging the brave in Bohemia to their defiant design of protecting themselves. Created King of Bohemia and head of the Protestant league in 1619, Fredrick V gained a double vote in the Imperial election. Counter-Reformation Catholics saw that these votes could be used for destructive ends. The wiping out of his cultural court in Bohemia at the Battle of the White Mountain in the fall of 1620 was a disaster for those intellectuals who had hoped that radical Protestant culture would assert itself against Habsburg tradition.

While some, including Christian of Anhalt, shrank from the Palatinist cause, others immediately sought a restoration. For one thing, Protestant knights began to recruit a new army to protect the lands not yet invaded and re-Catholicized. But a concentration on the Rosicrucian outbreak of pamphleteering in the period 1610–20, leads to over-simplification of events, particularly if one wants to understand the dynamics of the Rosicrucian ideals beyond the Bohemian phase of the War. The way to start is to turn to a letter containing rather unexpected information.

A New Source: Lotich's Instruction to Carl IX in 1605

As early as 1604, Bureus got involved in translating a Latin pamphlet sent to him by the illegitimate son of the King, Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm, entitled *A Warning delivered by one of the Pope's secretaries*. Its author treats of a feared Protestant setback in Austria and Würtemberg, and of the formation in Rome of two colleges for Counter-Reformation Propaganda Fide. The question of an evangelical union was therefore raised, a political union among Protestant Princes that finally formed at Auhausen in May 1608. It was to be led by Fredrick IV

of Würtemberg, with hopes of including the Swedish King.[78]

Then, in October 1605, probably not very long after the disastrous skirmish outside Kircholm in Livonia, King Carl IX was written to in Stockholm by a preacher from Stralsund, Michel Lothich Pomer(iensis).[79] Speaking of a new political scenario in a letter, Lotich pointed to a new era heralded by the new star of 1572. He drew up the sign of Cassiopeia and placed beside it a sword topped with a star. The sword stood on an altar inscribed with the sign of Leo. For the first time in the north, he then delivered a message to the Swedish King; the prophecy of "der Löwe aus der Mitternacht".

Enclosed between the names of St. Bridget and Sibylla Tiburtina, Lotich drew a crossmarked heart mounted by a precious crown supporting a rose (badly drawn) and an "F", probably for Fredrick. Beside these arrangements, Lotich placed two Greek crosses: a plain one marked "Sion" and a cloven one marked "Homo", the established cross of St. Lazarus, the disciple Jesus raised from the dead. The "F" placed on top of the crown and heart clearly signaled that there now was a German Prince ready to rise as a new crusading Emperor.

Medievalists can show how during the thirteenth century Joachim's system of an ultimate redemption was transformed from speaking of a future Angelic Pope to electing the Holy Roman Emperor, Fredrick II of Hohenstaufen, as chastiser of the Church and world monarch of redemption. Seated in a Templar throne in Sicily, and with ever widening ambitions, Fredrick was, however, declared anathema by Pope Gregorius IX in 1240. Since his death, Joachimite sectarians in southern Germany awaited a new Fredrick, just as the French long awaited their second Charles (le Magne). Lotich drew energy from this idea and he seems to have intended Fredrick IV of Würtemberg (his son was only ten years old), if he was not thinking of *averting* the staunchly Catholic Imperial incumbent, Ferdinand II. Paracelsus' prophecy to Emperor Ferdinand in 1536 did consist of "an 'F' standing on a rose, beneath which is a crown."

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[78] *En Waarning som en påfwens sekreterare, hwilken Gud hafver hulpit ifrå påwens wilfarelse . . . hafwer ställt till alla konungar, evangeliska furstar, och potentater . . . efter herr Carls, Sweriges Rijkes arffurstes etc. befalning*, Stockholm, 1604, esp. paragraphs 34 & 35. On Gyllenhielm, see Bureus' diary, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 36.

[79] Michel Lotich to Carl IX, Ms. D 363, KB, Stockholm. Cf. Henrik Sandblad, "Prognostica om Johan III, Sigismund and Karl IX" *Lychnos*, 1942, pp. 87–96. On Paracelus' rose and crown, see A. E. Waite (1922), p. 13.

Consider Lotich's anagrammatic title set out on the last page of the letter:

Expositio	Exposition of the
Saphyri ab Aq.lone illucoscentis	Saphiric realm shining
orbi	from the North
per	by
Germaniam rosynscenti	Germany rosen scented
contra Bestiam Quartam	against the Fourth Beast.
Indice Judiceq.	Witness & Judge
Leo Davidiador	The Davidic Lion &
Leoniby	two Lions
Brittannorum atq. Batavorum	Brittish and Dutch
opitulaturq. 5.e.	assisting, the Fifth.

The word "rosynscenti" is a neologism that I take to allude to the heavenly manna emanating from the accompaning Sephirothic tree.[80] On his way to Austria and Bohemia, Lotich says, he had been given part of Divine Wisdom. He was told of a meeting taking place in 1599 at Heidelberg with the administrator of Würtemberg during the minority of Fredrick IV, Christian of Anhalt, and the princly supporter of Paracelsism, Moritz of Hessen. He was warned that Spain and the House of Austria were crafting an alliance between the Pope and the Turks to obliterate Protestantism in all of Europe; they were active in Flanders and had sent diplomats to England and Denmark to prevent aid from reaching the East where persecutions had set in. Yet, Lotich had learned that a new situation was afoot in the North. He now instructed King Carl to receive him in person in Stockholm so that he can explain the Divine intention behind his rise and the deposing of Sigismund from the throne.

First in the row of Lotich's signs is a "Y", a fork described as black and red, with a stem in white. The reader is then told to look up the angelic chronology of Trithemius' *De septem secundeis Intelligentijs* (1527). Here, the medieval struggles of France and Germany are shown to climax in the age of the fifth planetary spirit Samael, the Mercurial age during which the Beast is unleashed. This apocalyptic

[80] The word is written very clearly, but alternative readings could include "rosynscerti" or "roæcynscenti", neither of which has any meaning. Inquiries with various Latinists in Sweden and in America have not challenged my rendering.

struggle would lead to an ultimate destruction, Trithemius had said, if there does not arise a sect ("ad algos", i.e., for the frozen) prepared to destroy the old religion. To frighten the Beast, the new sectarians would wear a "Y" on their clothes.[81] As Frances Yates has noted, "the 'Y' clad knight" not only occurs in the poetry of Edmund Spencer, but more significantly, the "Y" of Trithemius is on the first page of John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica* (Antwerp, 1564). This Pythagorean "Y" was taken by Dee from Geoffrey de Tory's *Champfleury* (Paris, 1529) to illustrate the difference between the broad road of the Tyrant and the narrow path of the Adept. Tory developed a numerology around Latin letters to demonstrate their divine origin and inspiration. As was the case for these representations, Trithemius' scheme of angelic ages became very influential, not least because both Agrippa and Paracelsus were strongly influenced by him.[82] Beside a Sun inscribed "Iehova Iustitia Nostra" one notices a crowned Eagle and an arm carrying a sword with a cloven handle set against four other signs, joined as in a chain: a sign for Leo with three arrows at its head and a chi-rho flag at its tail is mounted upon a fleur de lys, in turn set upon a peculiar sign, a cloven rod with two branches shooting out from each side, which was perhaps the sign for a nymph as in the leo, nymph, and lily seen by Studion.

Lotich now repeated his apocalyptic message with an exhortation: "let us mature, let us fight, let us triumph for the new Jerusalem." Beside the heart he indicated the year 1603, beside its cross 1601, beside its crown 1600, beside the rose 1601, beside the "F" 1602. He cites Isaiah 54, Zechariah 8 and 9, Ezekiel 38 and 39, Daniel and Revelations. He even drew up a Sephirothic tree, the cosmic model of God's ten luminous emanations formulated by the Hebrew Kabbalah. In the middle is an anvil on which a hammer strikes and above it there is a ring adorned by a saphire inscribed with a Hebrew name, to remind us of the biblical metalsmith Tubal-Cain and of Solomon's golden ring.

Lotich spoke of a "Germania rosynscenti". He made use of the angelic ages. He coordinated the seven planets to the places of the

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[81] A late reprint of Johannes Trithemius, *De septem secundeis, id est intelligentijs sive spiritibus orbes post Deum moventibus* (s.l., 1600) was taken by the Swedes as war booty from the library of Peter Ursini Wok à Rosis, yet with a binding from the Dukes of Würtemberg, and is now preserved in the Royal Library, Stockholm. It has many marginal notes, including a few on the last page concerning the "'Y' ad algos".

[82] Frances Yates (1947), p. 133. Cf. Noel Brann, "Was Paracelsus a student of Trithemius?" *The Sixteenth Century Journal* X:1, 1979, pp. 71–82.

Sefiroth. He refered to a Lion and a cross and centered on Paracelsus' prophecy of a rose crowned with an "F". These links considered, Lotich's letter deserves to be considered in the Rosicrucian context. His eager allusion to Fredrick tends to confirm the view laid out by Frances Yates, that on Christian of Anhalt's advice, Würtemberg, through supplying the future King of Bohemia, manoeuvered to get votes in the coming Imperial election. These attempts occurred, however, at an earlier date than she could demonstrate.

Consider, for example, one primary source that Lotich's rose-crown symbol appears to reflect: the apocalyptic commentary written by the Paracelsian Paul Link to predict events in 1602, written as the author states on 3 April 1599 to criticize one pseudonymus Adalbertus Thermopectius.[83] In this prolix text, Link drew upon the seven ages of Trithemius to build up a scenario for the return of Enoch and Elijah. The three principles of Paracelsus, Sulphur, Mercury and Salt explain how the final apokatastasis, or restititution of all things, will take place. In particular in the sixth chapter, Link discussed Grebner's prophecies on IUDICIUM, "violenter et ex raptu."[84] In the seventh chapter he presented Kyffhäuser's prophecy concerning Emperor Fredrick III (1441–1493) as an extension of ideas formulated by St. Bridget and Sibylla (Tiburtina). Link also briefly mentioned Sebastian Franck's treatise on the sixth century Gallic King Artus (Arto, Arturus) and pointed to similarities in the monarchical traditions found in France and Denmark/Norway. Most intriguing of all, however, is Link's keen consciousness of Postel's writings on the advent of Elijah. No less than twenty-nine books and manuscripts by Postel are listed at the end of the chapter according to an (incomplete) bibliography compiled by Conrad Gesner, the humanist at Basel.[85] Most interesting from a Rosicrucian viewpoint is Link's mention of a Confraternity of the Last Days foreseen by Eusebius and taken up by Trithemius, a confraternity similar to Philo's description of the House of Elijah in the Talmudic tradition.[86] In brief, Lotich's letter adds evidence to the view that by 1599

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[83] Paul Linck, "Das Buch von den Dreyen seculis und judiciis Divinis post Diluvium" MS. 981 Helmst. f. 232 HAB, Wolfenbüttel.

[84] *Ibid.*, f. 95. 113–113, 171', 205'. Quoting Theophrastus' "De Tinctura Physicorum contra sophistas natos post dilivium in seculo domini nostris 3. C. filiij Dei." f. 175.

[85] *Ibid.*, f. 203', 205, 210'. He refers to standard calculations on the destruction of the Temple by Johannes Brentz, Sebastian Münster, Heinrich Bünting, Abraham Levita, and the Seder Olam. f. 218, 222, 225.

[86] *Ibid.*, "Domus Elia" f. 222.

apocalyptic Paracelsians were seeing their astro-spiritual theories begin to be fulfilled. There was a lively, but secretive debate among them.

Raphael Eglinus and the Signifying Fish

Two additional signs in Lotich's letter concern the markings on some fish. These fish are similar to those that Bureus mentions in a later work, the *Lion Roar*—in the story of the "garfish caught in the Baltic" inscribed with the sign, "Anno Mundi 5578"—that by 1644, Bureus believed had foretold the revolt in Prague in 1618.[87]

The type of signifying fish that Lotich and Bureus refered to had earlier appeared in a tract by the Paracelsian court doctor to the Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Kassel, Raphael Eglinus' *Prophetia Halieutica nova et admiranda* (Zürich, 1598), dedicated to Johan Cassimir of the Palatinate-Zweibrücken, a close relative of Duke Carl in Sweden. By 1610, the fish circulated among Paracelsians in Ludwig of Anhalt's circle. The planetary codes written on the fish were then taken to spread the word of opposition to the imminent election of Matthias as Emperor. In 1611, Eglinus' text was reprinted at Marburg, now dedicated "ad Germanos" and "Fredrick Christian" of Denmark, a much needed ally in the north. It deals with "ichtygraphia," i.e., with the interpretation of certain signs on six fishes "caught in Norway in 1587 and at Greifswald in 1596." The signs are spelled out as "the Lamb will defeat them." The dates and the whole contrivance seem to match the rise of the Dane, Christian IV, later elected leader of the Lower Saxon circle.[88] Furthermore, Eglinus' text is a contribution to the synchronizing of Daniel 12:7 and Revelations 5:6. By

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[87] Henrik Sandblad, "Eken vid Güstrow och de sju inseglen—till tolkningen av Johannes Bureus religösa mystik", *Lychnos* 1959, pp. 94–95. *Nordlandalejonsens rytande Nordlandalejonsens Rytande som af Kopparaltsarens Mätning Uppenbarar Skriftennes Tijda Räkning*, Uppsala, 1644, p. 70. In 1670, Johannes Scheffer translated the title into Latin "Rugitum Leonis septentrionalis, revelatum ex mensuratione altaris Aenei." In 1633, Bureus showed the inscribed skin of an eel to the Queenmother. He may have known Johan Faulhaber's *Vernünfftiger Creaturen Weissagungen. Das ist: Beschreibung eines Wunderhirschs . . .*, Lauingen, 1632, in which Eglinus' fish appear. The text on the eel differs somewhat from that of the fish, cf. Hans Hildebrand (Stockholm, 1910).

[88] "Et agnus vincet eos." That the prophecy of the fish were circulated in 1610 as described by Johan Faulhaber to Philip von Hessen 9 September, 1618, MS. 4 72 9, ff. 1–36. Darmstadt Hausarchiv. Carlos Gilly has kindly supplied me a copy of this item.

referring to Ezekiel 33, he seems to draw energy from Roeslin's chronological works.

Significantly, it was Helisaeus Roeslin who was first to describe these fish. Signing himself Lampertus Floridus, his manuscript is dated 2 November 1587, showing that the pseudonym was in use well before 1610. More precisely, Roeslin-as-Floridus told of three herrings caught outside Norway in 1586. They had markings pointing to the catastrophes ahead and Roeslin invoked the fateful word IUDICIUM. Michael Lotich knew of these fish and as his letter to King Carl of Sweden indicates, he was told of their meaning in 1599, in connection with the new star.

Recent research shows that Raphael Eglinus stood behind the printing of the first edition of the Rosicrucian *Confessio*, by bringing it to the press at Kassel in 1615.[89] Bruce T. Moran has shown that the author of a letter to the Landgrave Moritz says that Eglinus aims to add an introduction to it, the text by "Phillippus a Gabella." Eglinus was also involved with the first edition of the *Fama* printed at Kassel in 1614, the edition including Adam Haselmayer's text on the Paracelsian Lion. Eglinus in fact knew Haselmayer as early as in 1607. In further detail, Carlos Gilly argues that Haselmayer influenced the inclusion of Gabella's text, because on the first page of his manuscripts *Philosophia Sagax* (1613) and *Novum lumen physico-chemicum* (1616), Haselmayer places Dee's Monas topped by a star, Paracelsus' spiritual "astrum."[90] At the same time, the star can be taken to signify the little nova of January 1604, miraculously set just above the great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Sagittarius. Now, if the lower half of the Monas is divided into Aries and the upright half of the cross, it can be taken as the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn (by joining their signs). The Monas marked by the star above could then easily be understood as joining the mercurial sun and moon to the great conjunction, which the new star had marked out by appearing right above it in the sign of Sagittarius. The new star thus marked the commencement of the two-hundred year period of great conjunctions in the fiery trigon. No wonder, then, that Haselmayer goes on to expound on the great work behind the "panum vitarum", the formation of spiritual bread.

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[89] Bruce T. Moran (1991), pp. 22, 42, 96–98, 127–128.

[90] Carlos Gilly, *Haselmayer* (1994), pp. 154, 170ff., where he dates the manuscript to 1616.

Gilly has found a record stating that the Rosicrucian *Fama* was brought to Kassel by a friend of Benedict Figulus at Hesse, the alchemist Johan Müller of Giessen, a frequent visitor to Tübingen. There is, on the other hand, no evidence to show that the printing at Kassel was sanctioned either by J. V. Andreae or any other Rosicrucian author in Tübingen. Instead, the joining of Haselmayer's Lion prophecy to the first edition of the Rosicrucian *Fama* suggests that the *printing* of these texts at Kassel were more closely related to Ludwig of Anhalt's political machinations for the forming of a Protestant Union and to the attempt of inciting a second evangelical reform.

As a Swiss Paracelsian, Raphael Iconius Eglinus originated from Zürich (in the local dialect "egli" means fish), but he studied at Geneva and worked at Basel as a theologian until 1596, when he was forced to leave because of the Catholic insurgence. His positions on the need of reform in natural physics deepened after he met Giordano Bruno, who, passing through Basel, had dictated to him a short exposition of his ideas, *De ente descensu*, that Eglinus soon published as *Summa terminorum metaphysicorum* (Basel, 1595). Driven north, Eglinus finally found a position as alchemist at the court of Hesse-Kassel, a court of great alchemical splendour that also numbers John Dee as visitor. In 1606, Moritz gave Eglinus a position as lecturer in Hermeticism at the University of Marburg, where, under the pseudonym "Nicolaus Niger Hapelius," he proceeded to publish a commentary to the alchemical prophecy on Elias Artista, the *Cheiragogica Heliana*, also signed "Radix Ignis Elixir." Eglinus was a strongly committed apocalypticist; he knew Haselmayer well, and he may have introduced Dee's Monas into the Rosicrucian debate for reasons of his own, that is, if these views do not represent the core of Rosicrucianism itself, as Frances Yates believed.[91]

Actually, in 1591, Eglinus published a treatise, *Oratio de concordi fratrum societate* (Zürich, 1591), in which he eloquently expounds on the precious ointment "that ran down upon the beard, *even* Aaron's beard: that went down to the skirts of his garment" in the psalm of David, cxxxiii, beginning "BEHOLD, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." The ointment flows

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[91] Bruce T. Moran (1991). See also Michael Srigley, *Images of Regeneration: a study of Shakespeare's The Tempest and its Cultural Background*, Studia Litteraria Upsaliensis; Uppsala, 1986, pp. 102n, 117ff., 122ff., 130ff.

"as the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descended upon the mountains of Zion, for there the Lord commanded the blessing, *even* life for evermore." In this treatise, Eglinus exhorts us to read Plato's *Alcibiades*, in order for us to see how the New Jerusalem takes form in the tale of Socrates and the mutual veneration paid by fathers and sons. His language harmonizes with the fraternal millenarianism of the Rosicrucian type, but precedes it in time and lacks many elements characteristic of the Rosicrucian *Fama*. Eglinus' blissful language was soon radicalized by the counter-Reformation; and as the staunchly anti-papal and esoteric text of the *Confessio* reached him, he was prepared to take it to the press.

Then, in Frankfurt in 1614, Eglinus published the statement that Bureus used later, the text in verse flowing from his own hand as *Assertio Fraternitatis R.C.*, in which Eglinus hinted at an Olympian sanctuary on the river Lahn. His assertions concerning the Olympian sanctuary were repeated by Michael Maier in 1617, and both he and Eglinus probably had in mind the publishing projects at Marburg in Hesse, where in 1606 Oswald Croll, Benedict Figulus, and Johan Thölde started to spread alchemical tracts, in particular Figulus' *Triumphal Chariot of Antimony* and Thölde's *Twelve Keys*, a text extolling the powers of Vitriol, and that Thölde claimed to have culled from a fifteenth century Benedictine monk, Basil Valentine.[92]

The Rosicrucian Printing Press at Hesse–Kassel

The court of Hesse-Kassel was a leading scene for discussion on the hoped for political union among European reformers. Kassel was known for the Ottoneum, a court theatre, and for its school of the courtly arts: fortification and architecture. Here even noble Swedes such as Ture Sparre, Johan Skytte, and the Ramist mathematician Nicolaus Chesnecopherus received instruction. Kassel was also a place of refuge for many French Huguenots and it was a natural place for drawing up international schemes. Since Chesnecopherus returned to Sweden in 1602 and there joined the party in search for books at Gråmunkeholmen, Bureus gained some access to the latest political developments at Hesse.

According to his own records, the court doctor at Hesse, Jacob

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[92] Bruce T. Moran (1991), p. 83.

Mosanus, took an interest in John Dee's writings in 1604. One cannot help but notice that Simon Studion completes his second version of the *Naometria* in the same year. It was then that Landgrave Moritz corresponded with Henry IV of France on an alliance for peace. Moritz discussed directly with the King's hand, the Parisian alchemist Quercetanus, who earlier had lived in exile at Basel and now reacted against Roeslin's prophecies. To celebrate a new political tie with France, Moritz gave a masque at court on 17 April 1604 in honor of Henry IV, a masque that some have perceived to have been "with courtly attire around Rosicrucian themes." For, on the same day, in reply to some coded question from Henry IV, Moritz mentions that some young noblemen in his vicinity "are dressed in rosen-shaped livery" in order to express their friendship.[93] One could raise the question whether these noblemen were emissars from some foreign land, perhaps even Würtemberg; yet, the evidence so far brought to light does not permit an answer. With the masque, Moritz apparently tried to give ideological support for an alliance with Henry IV, whose leadership had become part of "a grand design" for a new Europe led by a renovated Gallic King, a plan later described by the state secretary Marquise Béthune de Sully, an author aware of the Postellian ideas on universal monarchy.[94]

Whatever they were, these grand hopes for a future harmony in an anti-Habsburg league were nevertheless drastically ended in 1610, when Henry IV was assassinated in Paris just as his troops were to march north to prevent the Spaniards from taking control of Jülich-Cleve on the lower Rhine. The British hopeful, Prince Henry of Wales, died suddenly in the following year. The first phase of anti-Roman unionism ended by collapse.

But, let us look farther north. The prophecy of "der Löwe aus der Mitternacht" reached Carl IX in Stockholm in 1605, when Lotich spelled it out from a Sephirothic tree. The use of the Rose-Crown

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[93] *Ibid.*, p. 96. Cf. Moritz reply to Henry IV, 17 April 1604, "Ceste livre faicte en forme de rose, que portent maintenant quelques jeunes seigneurs, est plustost signe d'une bonne amitié entre eux, que de quelque autre consequances," in D. C. von Rommel, *Correspondence entre Henri IV... et Maurice le Savant, Landgrave de Hesse*, Paris, 1840, p. 178.

[94] The details of Sully's plan emerged first after 1623, with the publication of Emeric Crucé, *La Nouvelle Cynée*. Cf. Christian Pfister, "Les Economies Royales de Sully et le Grand Dessein de Henri IV" *Revue Historique* t. 54, 55, 56 (1892, 1893, 1894). Theodor Kükelhaus, *Der Ursprung des Planes vom Ewigen Frieden in den Mémoiren des Herzogs Sully*, Berlin, 1893. I thank Professor John T. O'Connor of the University of New Orleans for these references.

in Lotich's letter is reminiscent of the Rosen livery seen at Hesse-Kassel in the year before, and both encapsuled some heraldic meaning. It has previously been noted that the Paracelsian Lion prophecy was spread by Adam Haselmayer, the cantor and physician of Tyrol, in his *Antwort an die lobwürdige Brüderschafft der Theosophen vom R.C.* (1609/1611). The intrusion of statements making the Rosicrucian furore a branch of Leonine theosophy thus appeared well before the first publication of the *Fama.*

Not only did Anhalt-Cöthen and Hesse-Kassel try to forge ties with Huguenot France and with the ambivalent Henry IV, but also for a time they saw on their side Rudolph's faction at Prague (including Michael Maier) in the attempt to marry Stuart to Würtemberg.

A renewed use of the Lion prophecy in Germany can be traced back at least to 1598. A first part was culled from Paracelsus' *Liber Mineralibus* (ca. 1540), republished in his collected works at Basel in 1588. Paracelsus is said to have claimed that he would return fifty-eight years after his death, in 1541, which probably made 1598 a year of special significance. Paracelsus had published a shorter prophecy in 1530 that was republished at Strassburg in 1616. Paracelsus stated that after a great and fearful solar eclipse there will be revolts, riots, and wars, whereupon,

> The Lion having Blue and White for associates will march in a high manner. . . . An Old Lion will be bound and a young Lion will become free. He will please all those animals that the old had vexed. . . . Then shall the Pearl, so long lost, be found by one of humble estate, and will be set as a jewel in gold. It will be given to the Prince of all beasts, that is, to the right Lion. He will hang it about his neck, and wear it with honour. He will resist the Bear and the Wolf, and rend them asunder; so that the Beasts of the forest shall be safe. Then will the Old Art flourish and no heed will be given to the New. Then will the New World begin and the White and the Black shall disappear. . . .[95]

In the form finally published as *De Tinctura Physicorum* (1619), the prophecy brings together some new elements. The prophecy now involves three precious treasures buried in Europe and the coming of "der Löwe aus Mitternacht." While the first part was written by Paracelsus, the second part on the Lion was added by someone else.

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[95] I have used a translation by J. Kohn from Paracelsus' works published by Johan Huser, Strassburg, 1616, Vol. II, pp. 594–608. Kohn quotes the line on p. 625 of this edition: "The wild Lion, that is Bohemia, will again enter the Church. . . ."

The northern Lion as an emblematic saviour is found in several places in the Bible, for example, as Bureus showed in Amos 3:8 and in Revelations 5:5. These texts were used in medieval prophecy; for example, there is the Gallic Lion of Saint Severus spread through a treasure of prophecies collected by Guillaume Postel in 1547. Postel's collection was apparently known also in Sweden, since it is on Queen Christina's Vatican list of books drawn up in 1658.[96]

To sum up, even if one should find that Dee's direct influence on J. V. Andreae was negligble because mediated by less explicit texts, other Rosicrucian authors had become experts in Dee's magical scheme. Moreover, it has not been proven beyond doubt that the *Chemical Wedding* must be disconnected from the authorship of the *Fama*. Some, such as Montgomery and Moran, do however argue that much material in the *Fama* was written in the 1590's either by

- other authors aligned to the Joachimism of Simon Studion (such as Tobias Hess and Abraham Hölzel), and/or by
- some Paracelsians in the Swiss/Italian/Tyrolian background to Raphael Eglinus, the editor of the *Confessio* at Kassel.

Carlos Gilly's collection of manuscripts give content to these elusive categories. The background to Simon Studion's *Naometria* are found in apocalyptic interpreters such as Paul Lautensack, Eustachius Poyssel, Jacob Brocardo, and Helisaeus Roeslin (Lampertus Floridus). Eglinus at Kassel depended on the expertise of Adam Haselmayer, who may have joined Dee's philosophy to the *Fama*. Gilly does, however, dismiss the thought that any of these figures were Rosicrucian, since the term can be used only after the story on the Christian Knight had been written by Andreae in 1605 to 1610.

Even so, Lotich's "proto-Rosicrucian" letter from 1605 in Stockholm dramatically strengthens Yates' scenario concerning the role of Fredrick of Würtemberg. The occurrence of a heart crowned by an "F" in the letter indicates that the spread of the Paracelsian Lion prophecy was an effort to mobilize a Protestant alliance in Germany. Henry IV was directly involved, even if in the correspondence of the year before he had told Moritz of Hesse that the stubborn Swede,

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[96] Cf. Roland Edighoffer, "Le Lion de Septentrion" *Etudes Germaniques*, 1967, p. 174. Also Edighoffer (1986), vol. I, p. 343. Postel's treasure is edited by Francois Secret, *Le Thrésor des Prophéties de L'Univers (1547)*, Archives d'Histoire des Idées; The Hague, 1978.

Carl IX, refused to follow the advice of France to make a peaceful accord with Sigismund in Poland. But as shown by Lotich's letter in October, 1605, and by the rosy goings-on at Hesse in April, 1604, the political dimension was in force, even if the text of the *Fama* was written in full, as van Dülmen asserts, in 1605/07.

As far as I can judge, there is no concrete evidence to show that the *Fama* could be older than ca. 1605. Moran draws attention to Eglinus' *Assertio FRC* (Frankfurt, 1614), signed "the least of the brothers RC" and said to have been obtained on a three-day visit to Hagenau. In the second edition published in 1618, the author admits that "everything told in this pamphlet had come to him eighteen years earlier when one Michael Walchus from Tübingen brought Rosicrucian writings along with him on a visit to Zürich". Could it have been, as Moran suggests, during the period of Eglinus' intense alchemical practice in Zürich in 1600, thus before the time of his flight to Kassel and Marburg, when he could have brought these writings with him?[97] This is an interesting hypothesis, yet, there is no evidence that the writings Eglinus' received were the first Rosicrucian documents; instead, they are likely to have been some prophetic texts, perhaps inspired by Studion's naometrism, different from the actual *Fama*. Walch does not appear in the Tübingen rolls, so the information remains somewhat unclear. There is the possibility offered by Gilly that the man in question instead was the Paracelsist Johan Walch von Schöndorff, an alchemist well known in Tübingen and who may have been in contact with Tobias Hess or other Paracelsists there. Gilly believes it far more likely, though, that the scholars of Law, Christoph Besold and his brother Johan Georg, a good friend of Andreae, not only influenced the *Confessio*, but also that they, as Johan Arndt told Christoph Hirsch, belonged to the *group* of people behind the *Fama* at Tübingen.[98] On the evidence so far considered (and given that far more can be made out of the documents concerning his career) Johan Valentin Andreae remains the strongest candidate for authorship, despite his later retractions. Andreae's

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[97] Bruce T. Moran, "Alchemy, Prophecy, and the Rosicrucians: Raphael Eglinus and Mystical Currents of the early 17th c." in C. Clericuzio and P. M. Rattansi, *Proceedings of the Warburg Conference on Alchemy and Chemistry 1992*, Kluwer, the Hague, 1995. Cf. Frances Yates (1986), p. 255.

[98] Johan Arndt remarked that there were 30 people in the group at Tübingen editing the *Fama*, see W.-E. Peuckert (1973), p. 176.

repeated irritation over the Rosicrucians after 1616 and his various attempts to Christianize the legend can be understood as his pacifist reaction against the publication of the *Fama* at Kassel by a band of anonymous Paracelsians whose first concern was the aggressive Lion Prophecy.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROSICRUCIAN CONTEXT OF THE LION OF THE NORTH

Nostro Tempore Pacis sit
da Pax peto tu Rex

The wider project of mapping the network of Rosicrucian authors in the Baltic region after 1614 demonstrates that the Paracelsian Lion prophecy reached a number of centrally located political leaders well before the time of its first use in the propaganda for the Swedish campaign in Germany in 1631. The spread of the prophecy, including its first use in Sweden in 1605, even appears to be the result of a "Rosicrucian" political pressure group. Not only Lotich's remarkable letter of 1605, but also Bureus' writings from 1625 to 1629 indicate that Paracelsian prophecy continued to gain attention at court.

Bureus read widely in the Agrippan tradition of angelic magic and probably put to practice some of its techniques. When the tradition of medieval leonine prophecy reached him, he saw its connection with invocatory techniques in the Hebrew tradition. The theme of the Lion saviour had become visible not only among Paracelsians; it was also a touchstone for apocalyptic readers of the apocryphal fourth Book of Ezra. It occurs among Catholic thinkers, in Postel, a Jesuit and in Campanella, a Dominican friar, both expelled from their religious orders. In the Würtemberg Hermeticist Tobias Adami's widespread edition of Campanella's *De sensu rerum et magia* (Tübingen, 1617), there is a preface "ad Germanos Philosophos," in which Adami puts in focus the notion of a new revelation under dispensation in the north (the Septentrion). In the main text, Campanella speaks with utmost clarity of obscure notions such as a northern magnetic pole, and an expected northern Lion that will rise to threaten the Gauls. The obscurity of the north was felt to be increased by the undefined horoscope for births above the meridian of the 60th degree, the ultimate Mitternacht.[1]

[1] See Roland Edighoffer, "Le Lion de Septentrion", *Etudes Germaniques*, 1967.

Rosicrucianism on Trial: Astronomy and Popular Protest

In Sweden after 1616, Rosicrucianism was identified by the Orthodoxy as a popular source for anti-clerical ideas and religious subjectivism, and so they decided to give it a close review. In June 1619, the ecclesiastical council in Uppsala seized a controversial prognostic dedicated to Magnus and Abraham Brahe, two high noblemen interested in alchemy, astronomy, and mathematics. Sons of Per Brahe the elder and Else Gyllenstierna, they were distant relatives of Tycho Brahe. Although their common ancestor lived only in the beginning of the fifteenth century, Abraham was praised as a new Tycho when he set up a refined observatory at Visingsborg on the island Visingsö in Lake Vättern. Per Brahe was a crypto-Catholic and two of his nephews were executed at Linköping in 1600. His sons, however, did not protest the execution of their cousins and appear to have entirely abandoned the Catholic cause. Abraham Brahe (1569–1630) was trusted with major ceremonial tasks; in 1620, just a year after the seizure of the prognostic, he was sent to bring home the royal bride Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg-Hohenzollern. There was even discussion about offering Abraham Brahe the role of University Chancellor at Uppsala in 1607; but, instead, the less controversial Ramist scholar Johan Skytte was chosen. It is interesting that the Rosicrucian *Fama* and *Confessio* are still in the Brahe library: Abraham Brahe was perhaps sought as a Rosicrucian patron.[2]

The author of the tract under seizure in 1619 was the Finnish astronomer Sigfrid Aronius Forsius, whose yearly almanacs Bureus used for his diary. Forsius wrote that an age of great reform was soon to commence. There had been a marvellous comet in the Swan in 1602, and a great conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn appeared in the sign of Serpentario in 1603/04. Forsius explained that these signs reproduced the saying made popular during the radical reformation, "after the burning of the Goose there will follow a Swan," a saying fulfilled by the burning of the radical reformer Johan Hus (meaning

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Nostradamus predicted the death of Henry II in 1555 with the verse: "Le lion jeune le vieux surmontera, en champ bellique en singulier duelle. . . ." Cf. Queen Christina's Vatican MS. Reg. Lat. 1145, "Scuola Campanella, lettera del Maestro", in which appears *De sensu Rerum et Magia*, with the ninth chapter where the northern Lion is called forth.

[2] Abraham Brahe's books and mathematical instruments are now in Skokloster Castle, while his papers are in Skokloster-samlingen, Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

goose) in 1417 and by Luther a hundred years later. While Hus was the second Noah, Luther was the third Elijah. Their fate also figured in a prophetic line of Augustine, "Tibi Cherubin (flygande) et Seraphin (brinnande) In Cessabili Voce pro Clamant." By inserting the words for flying and burning, Forsius links the formula to the Hussite Swan and Goose. Calculations on the dates of these prophets showed that 1623 sheltered the "Saeculum Elia Reformatoris."[3]

Forced to expand upon the sources for his astrological views, Forsius explained that according to the secret views of the kabbalists, there is an heavenly ether that through influx activates the inert material composites of earth, water, and air. He admitted that he had drawn on Valentin Weigel's *Nosce te ipsum* and *Astrologia Theologizata* in which humans are seen as microcosmic models of the heavenly structure. He claimed that Weigel was supported by empirical evidence, for one could find traces of astral influence in the various developmental forms of herbs, trees, and gemstones. Ethereal influx was also the cause of the shamanic "confederation with demons," the exstatic practise of the Lapps. Forsius appealed to the tradition of Arabic astrology, to the medieval authors Abu Ma'shar, Abraham the Jew, and John of Seville. He pointed to recent debates in Germany on astral influence, chiefly by the traditional Aristotelian Johannes Magirus. Whereas a general astrological influence was beyond doubt, Forsius admitted that there were errors due to the imprecise understanding of the Copernican model, to the inexact measure of the precession of the equinoxes, and to climactic change. The will of God, human volition, extremely violent natural phenomena, and the activities of demons can alter the heavenly influx. Forsius had to admit that all prophecies are imprecise. The Rosicrucians were not mentioned during the interrogations, but the fact remains that Forsius' focus on the great conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 1603/04 is identical with that of many Rosicrucian authors.

In 1620, an affluent Swedish peasant, Jesper Nilsson, was accused of fraud by his neighbours. When he was brought to examination, it was argued that he was a Brother of the Rosy Cross for he had held that "it was not in the power of his parish priest to forgive his

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[3] S. A. Forsius, *Prognosticon Astro-theologicum til MDCXX*, Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1619. Forsius' retraction is in Acta Ecclesiastica 1620, Riksarkivet, Stockholm. Johannes Rudbeckius, *Warningspredikan . . . hållin 1622*, Westerås, 1937, p. D4v, warns that (the Rosicrucian author) Paul Nagel, Forsius, and Bureus share ideas in predictive astrology.

sins." He admitted to having five "wives," and proudly added that a sixth one recently had turned up.[4] His case was suspected to be connected to some cases of Sabbatarian heresy in the diocese of Westerose in 1619. The final sentence was, however, mild. Nilsson was put on probation and was barred from partaking in the Eucharist until the complaints had been settled. Nilsson's arrest did not bring up the theological debate on original sin. It was apparently decided that he had no knowledge of those heretics who denied that original sin is, as argued by Luther, traduced (or propagated) from generation to generation, but who rather held that it is merely infused, or created from nought in each soul. For a non-traducist, salvation can be permanently achieved. As the regenerated person dwells sinless in the state of Adam, he can dispense with clerical mediation.[5]

Rosicrucianism appears to have been considered a form of Weigelian protest movement at this stage, where a danger lay with those who pursued the idea of "the Christ within" in conscious opposition to the doctrines generated by Orthodox Lutheranism. More serious accusations against Rosicrucians were brought in Sweden in the summer of 1622, this time against two Germans that appear to have been considered as spies, Hans Bramer, a trader and Johan Bannier, a tailor from Stargard in Pommerania. Bannier wrote a tract *Spiegel oder Abriss des Greuels der Verwüstung*, in which he sees Johan Arndt as Elias tertius, the eagle to supercede the Swan and Goose. His text was in response to Hippolyte Guarnioni's Catholic denunciation *Die Greuel der Verwüstung menschlichen Geschlechts* (Ingolstadt, 1610), an anti-Paracelsian tract written by the Jesuit-trained controversialist and physician at Hall in Tyrol. This tract had earlier also enraged Adam Haselmayer.[6] In 1617, Bannier was in Danzig, perhaps coming in contact there with the Rosicrucian publishers. Returning to Stargard, Bannier befriended the Arndtian pastor Gottschalk Bünting, a later correspondent of Bureus. Bannier turned up in Sweden in the summer of 1622. He presented himself to Queen Kristina of Holstein, widow of Carl IX, and declared that his flesh was without sin. Bannier explained that he was an anointed and truly reborn, "for

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[4] "Utdrag ur Johannes Rudbecki Domkapitels och visitations-protokoller", *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift*, 1915, pp. 350–51.

[5] Sten Lindroth (1943), pp. 163ff.

[6] On Guarnioni, see Carlos Gilly, *Adam Haselmayer* (Amsterdam, 1994), pp. 34, 40ff., 63n.

Adam must die so that Christ can live in us" and that soon "everyone was to be taught and directed by God himself, and there will be only one sheepshed, one shepherd, one tongue."[7] The Queen felt intimidated and sent Bannier to her learned advisor Johan Skytte, who delivered him to the Lord High Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna for an incisive discussion. Oxenstierna was not well disposed to the prophet, for he had recently received a critical commentary on Rosicrucian themes, written by Nicolas Granius at the University of Helmstedt, telling of the three corner stones of the recent "trumpeters of light," the sources for prophecy in dreams, extasy, and enthusiasm. Soon thereafter, Bannier was exiled to Denmark, where he stayed for a while until he left for Lübeck in 1624; but also in this Hanseatic town he was detected as a fanatic and was exiled to an unknown destination in 1625.[8]

There was also the case of Philip Ziegler, the wandering Rosicrucian who having been expelled from Nüremberg, now went to Sweden, before going to the courts of Holland and England in 1623. In September 1624, the bar owner Heinrich Danitz was interrogated. His tavern in Stockholm was watched as a center for espionage, and it was claimed that he had helped "fausten David," an apocalyptic radical who had preached at various harbors in the Baltic. It is perhaps significant that Michael Lotich also mentions Heinrich Danitz in his dramatic prophetic letter of 1605.[9]

While these actions were a warning to prophets in Bureus' circle, it was not until some years later that Rosicrucian ideas were seen to truly challenge the State. On 28 April 1627, as Bureus nervously notes, a false prophet was executed in Stockholm for high treason for his open challenge to Gustav Adolf's authority. Matthias Pfennig, a millenarian extatic of German extraction in Närke, demanded to be called "Matthias Leo, der Nordenkönig" and to be seen as the

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[7] Nils Ahnlund, *Historisk Tidskrift* (1939), p. 39, mentions a letter from Johan Skytte, 2 August, 1622 (citing *Axel Oxenstiernas Skrifter och Brevväxling*, II 10, p. 261), warning of the "Frater Rosae Crucis" Hans Bramer. On Bannier, see Sten Lindroth (1943), pp. 442–443, 441.

[8] Kristina to Johan Skytte 12 July 1622, Skytte to Oxenstierna Augusti 1622. MS. T 48, n. 70, 80. Linköpings stiftsbibliotek. On Bünting and Granius see Lindroth (1943), pp. 174, 425.

[9] On Ziegler, see Will-Erich Peuckert (1973), pp. 147ff. Also Günther Barudio, *Gustav Adolf der Grosse*, Fischer Taschenbuch; Frankfurt, 1985, n. 4, p. 666. On Danitz, see Nils Ahnlund, *Historisk Tidskrift*, 1938, p. 292.

real husband of "Maria e Leo nova"—Gustav Adolf's bride, Queen Maria Eleonora.[10]

Pfennig took the prophecies further than anyone else. In a document written in Swedish hand in 1624, he dated the day of great change to 1629 and warned that the death of Carl Philip in 1622 was only the first step towards the total extinction of the Vasas. Gustav Adolf was naturally alarmed and with a magnificent gesture granted a reception of the prophet in his chambers at Westerose. As Bureus notes, Pfennig now preached with such force that the King was enraged and hit him.

Interrogated by the Consistorium Generale, the clerics quickly drew the conclusion that Pfennig was a dangerous polygamist.[11] Strange drawings were found on him. A crowned angel with a sun as its face presides over life and death, holding in its right hand a six-petaled branch and a pair of scales, in its left the sword of death. Named Ariel, the angel stands on a mobile altar, the altar of Sion, which is drawn by ropes in four different directions by Gog and Magog (Turks and Tartars), Ammon and Moab (Danes and Poles). As we shall see below, the scales and the sword were given as attributes to Elias Tertius in at least one anonymous pamphlet published in Saxony in 1625, the *Tuba visitationis*. For all his megalomania, Pfennig closely followed the doctrines set out by contemporary apocalypticists. His own general design hints at the anti-Swedish truce with Poland recently sealed by the King of Denmark; conveying that the great evangelical cause (the altar of Sion) is threatened by recent political developments. Ariel is also the center of a circle divided in twelve zodiacal sections for different European countries including Tartary and Turkey, and to each section apostles and patriarchs are accorded. In four corners (France, England-Sweden, Hungary, and Turkey) scribes are found, all four dressed in the same manner as Ariel, just as Christian Rosencreutz declares in the *Chemical Wedding*: "I put on my white linen coat and girded myself with a blood red belt crosswise over my shoulders." The red-belted writer placed in the south (Turkey) is incribed "Johannes," and up side down one reads, "Andreas," a clever Rosicrucian effect.[12]

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[10] Bureus' diary, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 103.

[11] Acta Ecclesiastica no. 120 (3423) Mattias Pfennig 1624, Riksarkivet, Stockholm. Includes the final court order.

[12] *Ibid.*, f. 1, 5, 26, 39v, 104. Reproduced in Gunnar Broberg, *Gyllene Äpplen*, Atlantis; Stockholm, 1991, pp. 192–193. See below n. 54.

Pfennig's manuscript also depicts violent scenes with soldiers slaying children, while a gentleman stands smelling a seven-branched lily. On another page, all norms are voided as a rabbit takes a fox, ironically inscribed "Gus-ta-fos." In the subsequent trial, Pfennig admitted to seeking a violent overthrow of the ruling order, to overturn "the Brotherhood of Evil" ruled by the Papal emperor, his kings, dukes, nobles, bishops, priests, and scribes. In a rage of anger against the aristocratic order, he quotes Psalm 149 for vengeance, "to bind their kings with chains and their nobles with fetters of iron." Such violent visions could hardly be tolerated and when Pfennig prophecied on the danger threatening the Swedish King, the limit had been reached. Sentenced to death, Pfennig was decapitated on 28 April 1627.

Pfennig's trial has been treated as a response to an isolated case of justified social revolt, yet it is striking that Pfennig's text contains Rosicrucian symbolism. In them, for example, one finds an overlined double S with a four-pointed cross, a contrivance standing for "Sanctus spiritus." Pfennig's familiarity with the ideal Rosicrucian clothing, the red-belted tunic, is unmistakable. There is no concrete evidence, however, that Pfennig stood in contact with other Rosicrucians, or whether he knew any of the "cross-brothers" talked of by Swedish ecclesiastical authorities in 1622.[13]

There was also Philip Ziegler, the Rosicrucian who claims to have visited Sweden some time between 1619 and 1622. Ziegler went to Groningen and Amsterdam in 1624 and then to London, where in 1626 he presented the court of Charles Stuart with a scenario on how to bring the Catholic King of Spain on his knees. He claimed to know how to suppress the Pope and how to convert Turks and Jews to Christianity. Ziegler's papers were seized and in them was found a detailed Joachimite scheme, *Origenicas reformas totius mundi.* It set out a plan of killing 300,000 of the European aristocracy and of setting the lesser clergy against their superiors. To achieve this, Ziegler was planning to convene a conference of Rosicrucians at Constance, incidently the residence of Daniel Mögling (Theophil Schweighardt). Ziegler pledged to avenge the burning of Johan Hus decided by the Council of Constance in 1417 and presented his case as an attempt at a violent overthrow of the Catholic powers in Europe. Although his papers were seized, he escaped punishment and appears to have

[13] Sten Lindroth (1943), pp. 442–443.

been protected by Charles' sister Elisabeth, ex-Queen of Bohemia. He even claimed to be of royal Scottish blood and his charismatic influence over David Ramsay (a Mason of Edinburgh, who in 1632 was exiled for treason and joined the Swedish army) helped introduce Rosicrucianism into freemasonry. Riding on a wave of anti-Spanish feeling in England, Ziegler escaped the fate of those earlier accused of Rosicrucian heresy and subversive acts in Sweden: Hans Bramer, Johan Bannier, and Matthias Pfennig.[14] To understand their activity more fully, we must look at parts of the Rosicrucian network.

The Rose Cross in Denmark and England

Tycho Brahe's quarrels and courtings with power in the courts of Denmark, Hesse, and Prague are well known, but he also had an interest in the Jacobean court. Tycho even received King James in person as a guest at Uraniborg in the autumn of 1590. Commenting, on this reception, on 20 March, 1590, Tycho wrote to place the wrath of the Lord in Scotland: "Est nobilis ira Leonis; spare the conquered, overthrow the haughty; Jacobus Rex."[15] The high hopes for the Scottish King and his new bride, Queen Anne of Denmark, made fellow seekers at the court in Prague—Carl Wideman, Edward Kelley, Michael Maier—to regain faith in the policies of Britain. In 1589, Dee returned to England by way of Nuremberg, Frankfurt, and Bremen, where he consulted Heinrich Khunrath and stayed on for some months. Indications are that Dee's travel was part of a political maneouver. Before reaching Bremen, Dee had delivered twelve horses to the Prince of Hesse. Dee's companion Edward Dyer returned to Edward Kelley from Bremen, and both are known to have supplied information to William Cecil, Secretary of State and director of the Elizabethan Secret Service. Also, Ron Heisler has noted that in 1590, Tycho Brahe sent four copies of a portrait of himself to Thomas Saville and desired to be remembered to John

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[14] On Ramsey, see Ron Heisler, "Philip Ziegler—the Rosicrucian 'King of Jerusalem'" *The Hermetic Journal*, 1990, pp. 3–10. Heisler notes that Robert Burton, author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy* had a copy of Bureus' *FaMa e sCanzIa reDUX* (1618) in his library.

[15] *Dansk Magazin* II, p. 266. Note that James was accompanied to Denmark 1589–90 by William Schaw, the first known freemason and by William Fowler, expert in the art of memory. Cf. David Stevenson (1988), p. 93.

Dee and the mathematician Thomas Digges. On the portrait were the names of his ancestors, including the noble names of Rosencrantz and Gyldenstiern, models for the notorious Danish courtiers in Shakespeare's *Hamlet.*[16] While "proto-Rosicrucianism" is a misleading term for describing the British overtures for James' marriage with Anne of Denmark, there certainly were simultaneous discussions of how to continue forging an anti-Spanish union among Protestant powers. We have seen how the Saxon prophet Paul Grebner approached Queen Elisabeth in 1586 with a copy of the Leonine prophecy *Sericum Mundi Filum*, in which Grebner colourfully suggests a northern political alliance led by the Dane.

This seeming "proto-Rosicrucianism" in Prague, Heidelberg, Kassel, Lüneburg, and Bremen was soon followed by real Rosicrucianism. Political discussions at the Palatine court in Heidelberg resulted in Michael Maier's so called "Rosicrucian Christmas card." First, in 1605, he sent a greeting in the form of a golden pyramid, apparently non-Rosicrucian, to Prince Henry of Wales. Then, to King James in 1611, with a deeper alchemical greeting drawn as a rose in red and golden ink: "Long live James, King of Great Britain, hail, may the Rose be joyful under thy protection," pledging that Eros must replace Eris, the Goddess of Discord. Maier's emotional greetings were certainly part of a political maneuvre and carried among their phrases the exhortation "Rosa nec erucis sit Rosa, nec Borea," to be rendered, "may the Rose not be gnawed by the canker nor by the North wind."[17]

In 1611, James' relative and Danish ally Christian IV was building fortresses to prevent the Swedes from crossing the border into Scania. Not much later, the fortified island Christianopel in Blekinge was taken by storm by the Swedes. Was Maier perhaps identifying the violent Swedish King Carl IX with the north wind? Michael Maier followed up on his Rose at the marriage of Stuart and Würtemberg in 1613, when he personally handed over official greetings also from Kassel. It is interesting to note that in early 1613,

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[16] Ron Heisler, "The Worlds that converged: Shakespeare and the Ethos of the Rosicrucians" *The Hermetic Journal*, Edinburgh, 1990, pp. 149–162, esp. p. 154, quoting Leslie Hotson's biography, *I, William Shakespeare*, pp. 123–124.

[17] Preserved in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, see Adam McClean, "The impact of the Rosicrucian Manifestos in Britain" in *Das Erbe der Christian Rosencreutz*, Amsterdam in de Pelikaan, Ernst Hauswedel Verlaag; Stuttgart, 1988, pp. 170–179. McClean translates the second "rose" as "canker" but the sense of "center" is also conveyed. For the pyramid see Michael Srigley (1986), pp. 188ff.

John Fletcher wrote a play for the festivities, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, for which he drew upon a text of William Shakespeare. Metrical analysis shows that Shakespeare wrote most of Act I, part of Act III, and most of Act V, in which Ron Heisler finds "strong Rosicrucian affinities, particularly in the striking scene where a quasi-religious ceremony takes place in the Temple of Diana, at which a rose plays a crucial role."[18] In this pagan ritual, Emilia enters as a vestal virgin carrying a sheaf of wheat and a silver hind that is set on an altar. The hind is set alight and disappears. Instead, Heisler points out, a rose-tree with a single rose ascends. At a certain twang of instruments the rose falls from the tree. Diana has permitted Emilia to wed, for she exclaims:

> . . . O mistress, Thou have dischargest me!
> I shall be gather'd. (V.i)

Emilia is pursued by two suitors, Arcite and Palamon, driven by jealousy to violent rivalry. The death of Arcite in the following knightly combat is a necessary sacrifice before the triumph of Palamon and his gaining of Emilia's hand. As Theseus puts it to Palamon in the final scene, mourning Arcite's fate:

> His part is play'd and, though it was too short,
> He did it well; your day is lengthen'd, and
> The blissful dew of heaven does arouse you. (V.iv)

Heisler believes Shakespeare wrote these lines of chivalric alchemy in 1594, when the obscure play *Palamon and Arcite* was staged.[19] It was later extended by making the maid allude to the Palatine liaison, and included a Morris-dance from *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Grey's Inn* performed in late February 1613 to celebrate the marriage. In 1623, however, as Heisler reminds us, a Palatinist play such as *The Two Noble Kinsmen* could not be included in Shakespeare's First Folio, because by then King James was trying to lie low to entice Spain into a royal match. In an earlier passage of Fletcher's, Emilia (Elisabeth) declares in congruity with Maier's greeting that the rose is best:

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[18] Ron Heisler, "Shakespeare and the Rosicrucians" *The Hermetic Journal*, 1986, pp. 16–19. The text is edited by Eugene M. Waith in The Oxford Shakespeare series, William Shakespeare and John Fletcher, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Clarendon Press; Oxford, 1989.

[19] This play was first written by Richard Edwardes in 1566.

It is the very emblem of a maid;
for when the west wind blows her gently
How modestly she blows and paints the sun
with her chaste blushes! When the north comes near her,
Rude and impatient, then like chastity
She locks her beauty in her bud again,
And leaves him to base briars. (II, ii)

Arcite's mingling of the rose with the north wind is here again warned against. Resistance to attacks from the north had become policy in England after 1606, when King James received Prince Christian for a stately visit. The Danes saw Carl of Sweden advance his positions in Scania, while his anti-Catholic war in Livonia threatened James' sought-for deal with Rudolph II. Their mood did not forebode well, because it showed a fear of the violence implicit in any wider Protestant alliance.

New prophecies had been offered by Tycho Brahe, who argued that the new star of 1572 was of infinitely greater predictive importance than any of the great conjunctions. Tycho had dedicated his *Astronomia Instaurata* to Rudolph II in 1602, in which he foretold the end of the Roman domination of history and saw a new millenarian age arising in the north through someone born in southern Finland, above the 60th meridian (Duke Carl was born at Åbo castle above the 60th meridian). Tycho took this line knowing that the conjunctions between Saturn and Jupiter were of momentous importance to the esoteric followers of Arabic astrology; the two great planets were signified by Aries the Ram in John Dee's Monas. The Rosicrucian texts focused on the appearance of a smaller nova in Serpentario in 1603/04, precisely because it was miraculously set just above the great conjunction.

The Trumpet Blow of 1622: the Death of Carl Philip

Johannes Bureus' role as royal archivalist began to have visible effects by 1621. Spies had heard that the Polish army would join forces with Wallenstein and through an armed fleet take control of the southern Baltic waters and its profitable trade. It was suggested that defense could be built on a preemptive strike, but the Swedish clergy had warned against an offensive in Livonia and tried to obstruct it. Personal relations between the king and the prophet now grew intense.

Gustav Adolf frequently told Bureus of his dreams. One in particular, of January, 1620, was disturbing: in this dream the King asked one of his advisors whether he really believed in Jesus Christ. Gustav Adolf heard the answer "No," because there was "another revelation." He now suspected that the dream had been inspired by Bureus.[20]

After a harsh dispute in July 1621, which Bureus perceived to be more like an interrogation, the King's brother Carl Philip warned Bureus that one can fall into Hell only once. Gustav Adolf left the room for some other business, whereupon the Prince leaned over Bureus. Staring him in the eye, Carl Philip now asked him a searching question: Did he really believe that the bread and wine of the Eucharist transforms into the flesh and blood of the Saviour? Baffled at this frankness, Bureus wondered how there could be such mistrust. Where could the Prince have overheard such libelous rumors? With pangs of bad conscience, Bureus had to leave the court in rage, as he himself records in his diary.[21]

The Danish Ambassador Peder Gallt now decided that one way to learn more of Gustav Adolf's plans for Livonia was to go to Uppsala to see the very learned antiquarian of whom he had heard so much. A little later, Gallt excitedly reported that "three noble Stoics" from the Netherlands were planning to construct a great machine that through a huge "philosophical magnet" could "draw all hammersmiths, between Lübeck and Hamburg, and around Danzig."[22] They now wanted iron, magnetic loadstone, and funds from the Swedish Crown to make this wonder possible. The Dutchmen were probably some of the military engineers who had been brought in from Nassau to launch the latest designs for the siege of Riga. Through the resolve to start the war in Livonia in September, 1621, the Swedes with their new machinery had quickly taken control over Riga and Mitau.

But the successes of war were drastically reduced when later that winter Carl Philip fell ill and met his death at Narwa. Gustav Adolf had yet no other heir, and thus, if he also perished, Sigismund Vasa would have lawful claim to the Swedish throne. In this precarious situation, Peder Gallt got hold of a "prognosticon fratrum rosae cru-

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[20] Bureus' diary, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 73.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 74–75.

[22] Nils Ahnlund, ed. "Peder Gallts depescher, 1622–24" *Historiska Handlingar* 26:1, 1920, p. 37.

cis" and sent a copy to Denmark.[23] The document appears to have been identical to the chronogrammatic verse with that very same title, now found in the bundle of documents deposited with Lotich's letter.[24] In the prognosticon are enumerated the various alliances of northern Europe after the war in Bohemia; then there is a warning about Maximilian of Bavaria, who now claimed the electoral title of the Upper Palatinate. Each line is formulated so that its Latin numerals make up the year 1622, thus creating twenty eight lines of the following lapidary sort:

EXCInDet Iehova papatVM,
NoVVs VenIt CreanDVs IMperator,
HIspano regI sVa VLtro aD fVtVra MaLe,
GallIa reX ItVrVs aD beataM,
AnglVs Vt bos lapsus fortVVs peDeM fIGet,
DanVs In armIs absqVe frVctV,
SVeCIa regeM fortVna IuVat . . .
IegernDorf boheMIa Vastate SalVator SalVtatur
Palatinus tanDeM exaltabItVr . . .
Ernestus MansfeldIus DIVS palatinatui repVrgatVr . . .
BaVarIa DVCeM spes frVstrabItVr . . .
A Morte Capta reDVX fIt VnIo

The last line of this clever description (reDVX) is reminiscent of Bureus' Rosicrucian pamphlet and shows that the author was drawn into the camp of those who wanted to aid the Bohemian cause by restoring the Palatinate. It appears that the Rosicrucian prognostic for 1622 was prepared to support the cause of the ex-Bohemian Palatinists, and perhaps to convince the Swedes of the need for an attack on Poland. The Palatine High Commander Mansfeldt entered Dutch employ in July 1622, and after a series of successful attacks upon Spanish arms in Flanders, it was decided that Christian of Braunschweig with support from Mansfeldt and the Dutch would attack Bohemia from the North, while Jägerndorf and Bethlen Gabor would join them from the east.[25]

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[23] *Ibid.*, p. 35. "Jag sender och ett prognosticon rosae crucis. Hvis sig belanger de runica och det gamble dicht eller viisse vill ieg mig nu med tiden om informere . . . Aeneae matrices tabulae et autor er til Upsala, iag vil drag dit derefter, skall vare en synderlig antiquarius och vercheligt ingenium." "Aeneae matrices tabulae" means an etching of some sort, perhaps Bureus' table of Runes.

[24] MS. D 363. KB Stockholm. An identical Rosicrucian prognostic is deposited at 31.8 Aug. fol. f. 127. in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel. Both are perhaps copies of a broadsheet, now lost.

[25] Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*, Routledge and Kegan Paul; London, 1984, 1987, p. 68.

Bureus now published his own "Key of David" in which in tabular form he describes the measurements of Solomon's Temple, to further predict the apocalypse. It appeared as *Then Utlovade Morgonstjernan <The Promised Morning-Star> . . . Buccinat ut redeas EOAE vocula, SURGE* (n.p. 1622) and was a ripened fruit of his Rosicrucianism. His tract appeared at the same time as the complaints against popular Rosicrucianism began in Sweden, which explains why he did not allude to the order in this work. Then, in November, 1622, Bureus reported that he was asked a crucial question by Gustav Adolf: whether "a Christian king may wage war—not merely defensively, but aggressively?" Gustav Adolf was trying to clear his conscience and to resettle his aims: recently he had reluctantly concluded a two-year truce with Poland.[26]

In the following spring, Bureus recorded a dream in which the King was seizing the Catholic enemy Sigismund Vasa for prisoner in Poland. The Swedes had been told in April 1623, as David Kirby observes, that the Scottish mercenary Robert Stewart was authorized by the Polish King to raise 7,000 troops for an invasion of Sweden. To prevent this, the Swedes sent a fleet to Danzig and requested that the Dutch and the English obstruct the Stewart recruitment of troops. In negotiations with King James, Gustav Adolf demanded a subsidy and the sizeable backing of an Anglo-Dutch fleet in the Baltic to secure him against a Danish attack, while he would invade Polish Prussia as a prelude to marching into Silesia with 55,000 men. Brandenburg, however, objected to having such a large number of troops near its borders. The Dutch suspected that the Swedes would remain in Poland and so their subsidies went to the Danes.[27]

Not long after these talks, the ex-Palatine administrator Ludwig Camerarius set out on a "secret" mission to Stockholm in November, 1623, to find out whether Sweden would support the Palatinists by making peace with the Danes. Camerarius was so impressed by the Swedish King that he wrote of him as the "Gideon" to lead the Protestant alliance, he who by the sword of the Lord would restore Bohemia and accede to the throne as Holy Roman Emperor. England followed up on the Palatinist diplomacy by sending Robert

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[26] Bureus' diary, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 77.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 75. David Kirby (1990), pp. 169–170. Two Swedes were sent to Holland to negotiate this deal of 1623: Jacob Rutgersius and Gustaf Horn. See E. Wrangel, "Sveriges litterära förbindelser med Holland" *Lunds Universitets Årskrift*, Vol. XXXIII, 1897, pp. 1–185, esp. p. 4.

Anstruther to Denmark. More secretely in 1624, the Prince of Wales and Fredrick V sent James Spens to Stockholm with a word-of-mouth-assurance of subsidies from England if Sweden took command of the evangelical forces, specified as 36 legions and 8,000 equestrian troops.[28] Without knowing the deep involvement of Gustav Adolf, Christian IV and the Danes started to prepare for a major war in Germany, first by giving subsidies directly to Fredrick of Bohemia in the Hague, and then by arms. With an eye on Denmark and the Sound, Gustav Adolf was, however, reluctant to subordinate himself to Christian's command. With Spens conducting negotiations with Stockholm, London, and the Hague, Bureus reshaped his apocalyptic scheme and, on 4 August 1625, he had no qualms about instructing a student of physics, Nicholas Holgeri Catonius, in its esoteric techniques.[29]

The Gemstones of Ariel and the Rosicrucian Lion

In Johannes Bureus' diary kept in Stockholm of 27 June 1625, there is a square in red ink containing the text: "Augusti förstens bref från Anhalt med Joachimi Morsij brev och 2 knippor skrifter."[30] Bureus had received a letter from Duke August of Anhalt-Plötzkau with a letter from Morsius and two texts. Which ones? Johan Nordström has shown that the texts were material from the edition of the Lion prophecy published by Morsius at Lübeck in 1622.[31] The Lion prophecy was no news in Stockholm; what now was being discussed was its spread to massive numbers of German citizens, particularly in Lower Saxony where the Danes had decided to join the war.

The new edition of the prophecy was given to the press on 25 March 1625 and Morsius signed it with the name for the church of redemption in the sixth age, "Philadelphia," adding to it his Hermetic name "Anastasius Philaretus Cosmopolita." Morsius dedicated it to Anton Hobenweschel von Hobenfelt, the custodian of the

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[28] Geoffrey Parker (1987), pp. 69, 70. Martin Weibull, "Gustav Adolf och Christian IV" *Lunds Universitets Årskrift*, Vol. XXXI, 1895, pp. 1–38, esp. pp. 7, 8–9n. Prince Charles even offered parts of the dowry he had received from Henriette Marie of France, p. 32.

[29] *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 93. Bureus' frontispiece is adorned by a single star.

[30] Bureus' diary, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 93.

[31] Johan Nordström (1934), appendix.

papers of the Danish Paracelsian, Peter Severinus. Another Paracelsist, Kort Aslaksson Bergensis, the Norwegian student of Tycho Brahe, brought it to press in Hamburg.[32]

The text begins with Paracelsus' claim that he will not rest in his grave, for when morning comes it will be discovered that there are three great treasures in Europe. As noted, this prophecy was re-edited and printed in 1619 as *De Tinctura Physicorum*, simultaneously with the Palatine bid for Bohemia and followed by Saxon attempts in 1620–25 to forge a Protestant alliance with the Danes. There follows a cryptic message on the philosopher's stone by the Silesian astronomer Balthasar Walther, written in cipher (a special script) said to derive from the Egyptians. The political intent of the edition is then brought out in an excerpt from Paul Grebner's older prophecy *De Leoni Septentrionali et ruina Antichristo* (1574), on the future of the Saxon circle and their Danish leader, the duke of Holstein (i.e., Christian IV, elected in April 1625), who soon took the unwise decision to join in the war personally.

Morsius does, however, hold out some further hope by referring to the antiquarian of Gustav Adolf, Bureus, and to his Rosicrucian text, *FaMa e sCanzIa reDVX* (1616). Echoing the well-known prophecy of Michael Sendivogius on Elias Artista, he adds that the art of theosophists, kabbalists, and chemists will now certainly ensure the rise of a metallic kingdom in the far north. In typical Rosicrucian fashion the reader is finally advised to devote hours daily to scriptural study and meditation on the cross.

Nils Ahnlund argues that this was the end of the Paracelsian story. If the theme was taken up again in 1631, it was as carefully planned propaganda, not as part of any Paracelsian beliefs. Gustav Adolf at most became an object of these speculations, he was not an effective force behind them. He was neither the subject for, nor the catalyst of the Lion prophecy.

Astrological predictions were influential during the war with Poland, nonetheless. A fine volume containing the 1625 Lion print, lavishly bound together with a treatise on the "bi-suns" of 1613 dedicated to Gustav Adolf by the Swedish astronomer Sigfrid Aronius Forsius, and a Latin prophecy dedicated to Emperor Rudolph by the Pole

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[32] The Lion print of 1625 is now at MS. A 200 c, Uppsala UB. Cf. Nils Ahnlund, *Historisk Tidskrift*, 1939, pp. 34–51. Cf. Sten Lindroth (1942), Oscar Garstein, *Kort Aslaksson*, Oslo; Universitetsforlaget, 1953.

Johannes Latsinus from ca. 1580, is preserved in the Uppsala archives. What is more, some neglected notes from July, 1625, show Bureus to be preparing a new Rosicrucian statement, a chronological tract that was sent to Gottschalk Bünting at Rostock, to Nicholas Granius at Helmstedt, and to Joachim Morsius at Lübeck. This piece of writing has previously not been recognized as a separate tract, yet it seems to have been sent to the printers, for in Bureus' diary of 1626, he says that a "'vox turturis' went out in Europe" with a Dutch bookseller, "Johan W".[33] Bureus notes: "Titulo huius liber est *Bucchina Halil—E'xon One Axonsatou—Araba odé vox turturis*," which can be rendered: "The trumpet blow out of the darkest night—he who has ears he may listen—a call from the deserts of Arabia by the voice of a turturdove."[34]

In these pages, an elaborate scheme concerning the interpretation of ARIEL is developed. Bureus makes annotations to the construction of the mercy seat and the altar of burnt offerings mentioned in Exodus 25:10 and Ezekiel 40:42. A hand drawn illustration is offered of his personal vision, a "Porta regenerationis," construed with reference to the primitive Japhetic alphabet of the Runes. Bureus then presents an interesting Rosicrucian table of the twelve precious stones of Revelations 21:19, on which the new Jerusalem will be built:

		ameth	Immanuel Chrys.		
1	A	hiacinth	Joh. Huss		
		chrysopr	Ch. Rosenc.		
		topas	Joh. Reuchlin		
2	R	berill	Martin Luther		
		chrysolit	Theoph. Parac.		
		sardone	Angeli 7		
3	I	sardonix	Gratiae		
		smaragd	Fr. Ros. Cr.		
		calcedon		1 Thes. 5:23	pneuma
4	EL	safir			psyche
		jaspis			soma

[33] Bureus' diary, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 97.

[34] MS. Fa. 6. KB, Stockholm. The notes are probably identical to Bureus' unknown text *Ariel Suethicus, seu Chronologiae mysti*, mentioned by Franckenberg in 1646, see below chapter III, n. 78.

The table is incomplete, so it is not certain that the three human aspects pneuma, psyche, soma (set out on a separate sheet) are meant to be fill in the last three vacancies. Perhaps, instead, Elijah in his three guises (Moses, Elijah, John the Baptist) would appear to complete the list. It is intriguing that the list begins with "Immanuel Chrys." This figure is not the Greek Church father of Antioch, Iohannes Chrysostomos (the golden mouth), who insisted that clothing the novice with the monk's habit takes place in the presence of angels, saying that those who wear the black cloak are "like angels, namely, in that they cut themselves off from the world. . . . For they are not garbed like those who parade through the streets trailing garments . . . but rather like those blessed *angels*, Elias, Elisaeus, Johannes" (*In Mattheaeum homilia* LXVIII, iii). Instead, Bureus intends to refer to Manoel Chrysolaras, one of the first Greek scholars in Italy, working for the court of Medici. Chrysolaras' famous Greek grammar, *Erotemata*, was published in the year of his death in 1484, the year designated for Christian Rosencreutz' death in the *Fama*. Bureus' particular phrase (Immanuel Chrys.) may at the same time invoke a Golden Immanuel, a figure similar to Elias Artista, a substitute for the second coming of Christ in the form of an alchemical principle. This would not be out of line with Rosicrucian thinking and harmonizes with the close Rosicrucian connection between the Joachimite figure Elias Tertius and the Paracelsian Elias Artista. Taken as a whole, the table signifies that in the Seventh Age, in a period of intense grace controlled by the seventh angel, the Rosicrucian brotherhood will establish itself as a salvific assembly prepared to bring about a human restitution through the three principles: soul, mind, and body.[35]

These ideas on restitution and angelic life are drawn from Bureus' conception of the Soul, developed on the theosophy of Heinrich Khunrath, but ultimately based in ideas on the transforming character of grace, according to which the reforming fraternity is identical to the mystical body of Christ, a body persisting through the indwelling of lights, or the Holy Spirit. Bureus therefore offers a new, more complicated table, called a *Clavis regenerationis*. It is divided into three sections. In the first, he offers a chronological key from Daniel 12:11, like a light out of darkness. In the second, he speaks of a method of personal restitution (following three precursors: John

[35] *Ibid.*, no pagination.

the Baptist; "the least of the RCs"; and "one who has received the grace"), a method dealing with a future logic, a quadrative method probably akin to Bureus' URNA Vasorum, his EOA, or the art of nightly renaissance. Bureus combines these two branches in a third section called the key of David (the call out of Arabia) as in the *FaMa* of 1616.

nomina revelat — in sacra scriptura — lychnis 2 Pet. 1:19 hic enim absolvit lychnis iam siccadem Eoa Johana 129 smaragdus

1290
1 de anni cui competunt — (quid) tum

quis prius revelat discursus novi
3 porta aperta
claves David (Araba odé) Jes. 40:2

porta smaragd — Eoa spiritus anima

Johan. bapt minimo in RC Graatus
2 persona

missi angeli 7—1622
promissio F.R.C.
discursus novas—circulus
discurret militi—quadrativa

minimum in RC Jer. 31:34
novi logica futura
nocte renascenti arte

Jes. 40:12 talmud logic

The remark "nocte renascenti arte" is to say that the final text would describe the method of nightly divination, the "laying of EOA." Bureus apparently believed that through the help of "the least of the RCs" (a signature used by Raphael Eglinus in *Assertio FRC* (Kassel, 1614)), he had reached the chronological key for opening the emerald door of the Scriptures. On another page, the numeral 129 is derived from 1290, the number of days from Daniel, and the final judgment is settled for the double option 1647, or 1674. It is unclear to whom the "Johana" (spelled "Johanan" on the following page) is to refer. Is it to Jochanan, the name used by Salomé for John the

Baptist? It is tempting to see a reference to Postel's Johanna of Venice, who in 1554 spread Joachimite prophecies on the advent of an angelic Pope, Elias redivivus. She could well be the last of the Gallic sibyls.

In any case, Bureus now saw himself signified. In July 1619, Bureus had argued that "Johannes" adds to the numeral 2538, in turn divisible into 1119, 129, 1290. He now coordinated the seventh angel (age) with the year 1622, as explained by the Rosicrucians. Bureus speaks of their "new discourse" by a circular method, perhaps the astro-chronological device in the *Fama* called *Rota Mundi.* For, Bureus asks with the prophet Isaiah: "Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out the heavens with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountain in scales, and the hills in a balance?"

A Danish-Dutch Network for Rosicrucian Material, 1622–1625

The name of the Czech collector of Rosicrucian material, Anton Hoberweschel von Hobernfeld, is inscribed on the dedication page of the Lion prophecy published at Hamburg by Joachim Morsius in the spring of 1625.[36] It is provoking that Hoberweschel was resettled in the United Provinces and that he is said to have been involved with a Hermetic esprit de corps at the Hague in 1626 "de Koningh van de Opgaaende zon," a fellowship for which there are no records. There is talk of Rosicrucian-style meetings in a palace in the northern outskirts of the Hague in 1622. The idea that such meetings were held was perhaps inspired by Henricus Madhatanus' *Aureum Saeculum Redivivum* published in the same year, since the meetings are seen to have promoted the theosophy of "Golden Rosicrucianism." The meetings are held to have drawn on an aristocratic membership different from the original Rosicrucian writers, who often were small town theologians, astronomers, or medical researchers.[37] If ever

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[36] Hobernfeld wrote *Ontdeckinghe van een Onghenoemde Antwoort op de Famam Fraternitatis*, 1 Sept. 1614. Morsius wrote Anastasii Philareti Cosmopolitae, *Epistola Sapientissimiae F.R.C. . . . Crede mihi bene qui latuit bene vixit*, Philadelphia (Amsterdam) 1617. The motto "Bene vixit qui bene latuit"—he lives well who lives hidden—is also used by Descartes in his notebook of 1619–1620.

[37] Govert Snoek, *De Rosenkruizers in Nederland—Voornamelijk in de eerste helft van de 17e eeuw. Een inventarisatie*, Unpubl. diss. Leiden, 1991, pp. 217–218. The source is

there were such meetings, they must have been in support of the exiled Fredrick of Bohemia, who just a year later in 1623, signed the album amicorum of a visiting Rosicrucian emblem-maker, Daniel Stolcius (Stoltz von Stoltenberg).[38] Stolcius was Czech, had studied medicine at Prague, and now acted as a Rosicrucian diplomat. Stolcius' travel from Hesse to the exiled court at the Hague in 1623, and then to England, was part of a series of visits with Rosicrucian scholars. In London, he met with the Hungarian student of Dee, Johannes Banfi Hunnyades, with the son of the alchemist Francis Anthony, and with the Rosicrucians Cornelius Drebbel and Robert Fludd. Shortly afterward Stolcius travelled to Frankfurt to publish his costly emblembook *Viridianum Chymicum or Chymisches Lustgärtlein* by Lucas Jennis, who earlier had published the Rosicrucian material of Johannes Mylius and Michael Maier.[39] These meetings could amount to a diplomatic network, set up to influence the election in 1625 of the Dane as *Kreisoberst* of the Saxons. In receiving the Danish Lion prophecy, Hoberweschel von Hobenfeldt almost certainly secured its reach to an important Dutch audience.

It is true, afterall, that Rosicrucian documents were publically condemned by the University of Leiden in 1624 and that the allegedly pornographic painter Jan Symonsz van der Beek, or Torrentius, was tried for Rosicrucianism in Haarlem in 1627.[40] He was saved by Charles Stuart after a plea by the British ambassador Dudley Carleton, who apparently enjoyed Torrentius' still life paintings. The intervention has been taken to mean that Stuart support for the Dutch against Spain was led through secret channels.[41] There was a complete

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a manuscript dated 1635 in the possession of one L.H.J.V.H.J.D. and discussed in Ludowici Conradi Orvius, *Occulta Philosophia, oder coelum Sapientium ex vexatio stultorum*, Erfurt, 1738. As Snoek observes, Orvius' book was first printed in Breslau 1714 in the circles of Samuel Richter's Golden- and Rosy Cross, a revival of Madhatanus' *Aureum Saeculum Redivivum* (1622), reprinted in *Musaeum Hermeticum* (Frankfurt, 1625).

[38] On Hobernfeld, cf. Lindroth (1943), p. 173 and Peuckert (1924), pp. 36ff. Stolcius' album amicorum, is now MS. Y 132, Uppsala UB.

[39] Johannes Hartman of Kassel enters his name in 1619 with "sub Umbra alarum tuarum Jehova," signing in with a new monas, where Aries is replaced with an arrow (for Sagittarius?) and an extra bar cuts through the sun with the signs for Saturn and Jupiter hanging on each end. MS. Y 132, Uppsala.

[40] Documents edited by W. Meijer, *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde* (Arnheim, 1917), pp. 309–313.

[41] Torrentius was tortured in 1627 and his paintings were burnt. He was released first in 1630. A. Bredius, *Johannes Torrentius (schilder 1504–1644)*, The Hague, 1909. Also, Ron Heisler, "Rosicrucianism: The First Blooming in Britain" *Hermetic Journal*, 1989, pp. 30–61, esp. p. 53.

turn-around in diplomacy in 1624; until then, old King James had been vainly hoping that an alliance with Spain eventually would restore the Palatinate to Charles Lewis, eldest surviving son of the Winter King.

There is also a contested report alleging to record masonic meetings in the lodge "Frederiks Vredendall" in 1637–38 at the Hague; they were thought to include the celebrated poet Constantijn Huyghens (1596–1687) and the Nassaus, all hosted in the library of the wealthy Jacob van Wassenaer-Obdam. The library catalogue of the latter lists a Dutch copy of the *Fama*, and all of these gentlemen took an interest in the sympathetic powders and perfumes of Sir Kenelm Digby (1603–1665), the English Rosicrucian with contacts in the court of Marie de Medici in France. Digby even took the trouble to meet Descartes for a discussion in 1643. It must be said, however, that there is no primary source material for any 1637–38 masonic or occult-political meetings in Dutch archives.[42] Instead, there is much scepticism concerning these reports, not least because Huyghens was a close friend of Descartes.

It may seem too convenient that such a skilled poet, fertile composer, architect, and fine draftsman as Huyghens was among the first Dutch Rosicrucians, even while his concern for higher learning resulted in the emergence of Christian Huyghens, his son, the brilliant mathematician and discoverer of Saturn's rings. Constantijn's large bulk of chemical papers, and his interest in flowers, perfumes, paint, and salves, have remained largely ignored. Thus, the standard view remains that the talk of the 1622 meetings is a fabrication placed to precede the similarly fabricated masonic lodge of 1637 at the Hague, "Coningh Vrede-rycx," supporting Fredrik Henrik of Nassau, the prime mover behind the Protestant Alliance sealed at The Hague on 9 December, 1625.[43]

However, Constantijn Huyghens went to England with Dudley

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[42] Descartes was sought out by John Dury in 1634 and by Comenius in 1641. One text, a forgery, the so called Cologne MS., came to light in Rotterdam in 1816 and presents the coded minutes of a Dutch Vredendall lodge of 1534, signed by a number of Dutch and German dignitaries, most notably Phillip Melanchton. This would be a lodge of brothers of St. John, founded in about 1440, and puns on Friedenthal or La Vallé de la Paix.

[43] Orvius describes how participants would receive a golden cross hung on a blue ribbon. As Snoek points out these notes are considered forgeries by the masonic Templar writer Maximilian Louis Hengst, Baron D'Yvoy, Lord of Mijdrecht (1735–1831). See also A. E. Waite (1924), pp. 348ff.

Carlton in 1618, visited Oxford and met Francis Bacon and the metaphysical poet John Donne, whose verse he reshaped into Dutch. He saw Venice in 1619 and returned into England three times, to act as diplomat of the United Provinces there in 1623. These ouvertures on the English scene and the activities of the ex-Palatinist court at the Hague may well have inspired the Rosicrucian prognostic of 1622 in Sweden that alluded to Count Mansfeldt's operations. In brief, if Rosicrucianism is restricted to a certain mentality tied to the restoration of the arts and to certain dynastic claims, then it is perhaps justified to claim that the diplomacy in the Hague in many instances incarnated the political Rosicrucian.

This is the background. After the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620, the Palatine Commander Christian of Anhalt-Bernberg was put under Imperial ban. He fled to settle in Flensburg under the protection of the Danish King. Shortly afterward, Dutch and English diplomacy was set up to draw Christian IV of Denmark into the war against Habsburg powers. Another ex-Bohemian, Wilhelm IV of Saxe-Weimar, was arranging a network in 1623 called *Deutscher Friedbund*, a circuit among Protestant knights for preparing military actions, somewhat inspired by Saxe-Weimar's earlier *Orden der Beständigkeit* of 1621.[44] Ludwig of Anhalt-Cöthen, the leader of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* at Weimar, had since 1617 gathered poets and important military men in a Protestant literary union. He now acquired a manor in Harderwijk in 1624, under the pretext of gaining closer relationship with his commercial partners in the Dutch East India Company. His brother Christian of Anhalt-Bernberg had arranged his own *Ordre de la Palme d'Or* with similar literary ambitions. The Palm tree was of old a symbol of strength and fruition, even Phoenix-like according to kabbalists. But then, in late 1624, Christian was persuaded by his imprisoned son in Vienna to return freely to Bavaria and be given pardon from the Emperor; an act of outright defection.[45]

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[44] For detailed biographies of all members see Klaus Conerman, *Die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1985. The society was to continue to recruit and extend friendships among Protestant military men until the very end of the Thirty Years' war. Members by 1636 included Johan Banér and his Scots Commander James King, Lord Eglin and Kerrey. King was made Swedish Baron of Sandshult, but could join the northern army at Marston Moor. Later, King argued for Swedish support of Montrose's subversive ambitions in 1650.

[45] On Christian of Anhalt see Volker Press, *Kriege und Kriesen, Deutschland 1600–1715*, Beck; München, 1991, pp. 164–174, 180–201. On the kabbalist Palmtree-Phoenix

Ludwig of Anhalt's continuing monetary and military preparations, the covert diplomacy of England, Count Mansfeldt's impressive persistence, and the attempts to win over the two Scandinavian crowns to lead an evangelical alliance remain significant factors in evaluating the German Rosicrucian Philip Ziegler's moves in Dutch circles before the concluding of the Protestant alliance at the Hague in December 1625.

As for the story of the Rosicrucian masonic lodge of 1637 at the Hague, there may have been an influence from the *Societas Coronae Equestris Ordinis*, started by the Austrian Rosicrucian Johannes Permeier, who by 1630 had settled at Emden. He later also tried to influence the Swedish court. In 1644, he approached the Swedish Queen with a broadsheet reminding her of the expectations put on earlier Christian heroes. He addressed her with the cheer, "Rex-Regina, Christus-Christina", set beneath two headings reading "New-Gustavianischer Banier-symbolum" and "New-Frideric: oder Salomonische Braut-Symbolum." As noted, Permeier had settled at Emden in the Netherlands, from where he issued writings from the "Chancery of the Royal Order" announcing the expectation of a new age to be brought about, not by Elijah, but by the establishment of a new worldly monarchy capable of rising above religious dissension.[46] In 1631, Permeier went to the court of Brandenburg in Berlin to be closer to the progress of the Swedish army, from where he sent letters to the Swedes explaining to them their evangelical mission. In letters to the Socinian Florian Crusius at Danzig in 1638, he recommended the reading of the visions of Johan Warner, a preacher who was following the tracks of the Swedish army. Permeier also spoke of an unidentified work with etchings and explications entitled "Leonis Septentrionalis Clavis."[47] Nevertheless, Permeier made clear that he had grown disappointed with the Swedes and he wrote to Vienna about a new design for a "Christlich-Königlische Triumphgesellschaft," now arguing that only the Habsburg Emperor could rise to the call for a new order of harmony and peace. He even mocked the hopes formerly invested in the "Mitternächtige lewen-

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idea see Francois Secret, "Alchemie, Palingénésie et Metempsychose chez Guillaume Postel" *Chrysopoeia*, 1988, pp. 3–60.

[46] Richard van Dülmen, "Prophetie und Politik. Johan Permeier und die 'Societas Regalis Jesu Christi' 1631–163." *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte* 41 (1978), pp. 417–473.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

stärcke" of Gustav Adolf; they were as fruitless as had been the hopes that Fredrick the Winterking would assume the role of the New Solomon described in the 72nd Psalm.[48] In 1643, Permeier decided to send papers to Sweden, Denmark, Saxony, Hesse, Braunschweig, Augsburg, Erfurt, and Magdeburg in which he demanded that a General Council be convened in Germany to discuss the Protestant future, and also urged the use of Johan Arndt's *True Christianity* to create a trans-denominational union. The broadsheet of 1644 remains obscure, with the author merely signing in as "im Rosenthal bey newen Saron." Appended was a new version of Grammendorf's mystical theology *Error Triunus*, in which Permeier reissues a statement on "die Löwe aus der Mitternacht."[49] The broadsheet shows that there were many shared Lutheran symbols on which continuing Rosicrucian lobbying could build. Permeier made frequent mention of the writings of Johan Arndt and it appears that for him, the beginning round of peace negotiations at Westphalia had opened expectations of a more prosperous future.

Against the purely Baltic horizon, the role of Joachim Morsius at Lübeck and his friends in Stockholm, Riga, and Amsterdam in 1624 stand out as key ingredients in the transmission of Rosicrucian thought. These late activities (after 1623) are clearly Rosicrucian, perhaps more so than anything J. V. Andreae would ever have liked to endorse. Morsius' influence in Denmark should by no means be thought to have reduced interest because of an apparent disconnection from Andreae's Lutheran network in Würtemberg, Nüremberg, or the court of Braunschweig.

The survival of Rosicrucian reasoning may have passed, not so much through the Calvinist court of William of Hesse, as through the freethinking circle of Abraham van Franckenberg at Danzig. In 1639, Franckenberg incorporated ideas from Bureus' *FaMa e SCanzIa reDUX* in his manuscript *Theophrastia Valentiniana*, a gnostic-Paracelsian text first published in 1703 by the Pietist Church Historian Gottfried Arnold. In 1646, Franckenberg wrote to Samuel Hartlib with the mystical salute "symphilaletha tuo" and sent a full copy of Bureus' *FaMa* to explicate fully the northern reformation and the apocalyptic

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[48] *Ibid.*, p. 436 citing Permeier on 25 March 1638 to Anna Maria Preinerin, Gräfin von Trautmanssdorf, the wife of the imperial diplomat in Vienna.

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 431–432. Note that Permeier already in 1632 wrote on a "vom Letzt-Johannitischen Ritter-Orden . . . der Goldfarbene Creutzblumen im New Zionischen Rosenthal. . . ."

significance of 1673. Adding a list of the Scandinavian prophet's publications, he also mentioned Bureus' *Ariel Suethicus, seu Chronologiae mysti*, a title previously unknown.[50]

Permeier knew Rittangel, the Amsterdam-based translator of the *Sefer Jezirah* who also learned from Menasseh ben Israel. In 1642, Permeier wrote of the society to Hoberweschel von Hobernfeldt. Permeier's manuscripts of extravagant Rosicrucian proposals for a general peace council in Germany in 1638 also include descriptions of an initiation rite to be performed on the day of St. John the Baptist, a circumstance that, even if fictional, reveals his vital ceremonial concern.[51]

The difficulty of discerning the reality behind this sacred art of fraternizing is compounded by the connections sported by Constantijn's close friend Caspar van Baerle, the prolific, but melancholy Latin poet. Baerle knew the Rosicrucian Joachim Morsius and in 1619 wrote a tribute to him on the occasion of the publication of poems at Leiden by the Czech unitarian Simon Szymonowicz.[52] Baerle was known for his strange delusions in 1623, when he was accused of belonging to a group of Remonstrants who had attempted to murder Maurice of Nassau. In a fit of madness, Baerle believed that he was entirely made of glass; in another phase, he began to shun all fires since he believed his body was made of straw or butter.[53] His moods aside, Baerle knew many intellectuals of possible Rosicrucian interest, among them the diplomat for Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar in Holland, Joachim de Wiquefort, later a correspondent of Andreae's Christian union. Baerle also knew the chemist Jan van Helmont and

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[50] Franckenberg to Hartlib, Danzig 25 August, 1646, MS. Sloane 648, ff. 79–88, 89–90v, British Library.

[51] On Hoberweschel, Milada Blekastad, *Comenius*, Oslo, 1969, p. 337. I thank Balint Keserü of the Attila Joséf University in Szeged, Hungary for showing me parts of the manuscripts preserved among Permeier's papers at the UB, Halle.

[52] Simonis Simonidae, *Poematia aurea edit ex Bibliotheca Joachimi Morsi* . . . Leiden, 1619. These non-Rosicrucian verse are adjoined by letters of greetings from Janus Dousa, Justus Lipsius, and Stanislaw Tarnow, from Thomas Seghet in Constantinople 1597 and Henry Wotton in Venice; they end with a life of the noble patron Janis Zamoxhius (Samoschi).

[53] Was Baerle the inspiration for Descartes' doubts in *Meditations on First Philosophy*, Section I: "And how could I doubt that these hands and this body are mine, were it not that I compare myself to certain persons, devoid of sense that are so troubled and clouded by the violent vapours of black bile, that they constantly assure us that *they think they are kings when they are really quite poor, or that they are clothed in purple when they are really without covering, or who imagine that they have an earthenware head or are nothing but pumpkins or are made of glass.* But they are mad, and I should not be any the less insane were I to follow examples so extravagant." (My italics).

the Hermetic engraver Michel le Blon. In 1633, Baerle wrote a notorious epigram to Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel, praising the Rabbi for being as devoted to Abraham as he himself was to Christ.[54] In a first attempt to reconstruct parts of this complex web of Rosicrucian-inclined poets, patrons, and merchants, Ron Heisler has found that Baerle corresponded with a number of minor British poets, notably Thomas Scott and Baldwin Hamey, who were employed by the staunch Protestant policy broker William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke, nephew of Philip Sidney. As Heisler cautiously observes, the first historian of the freemasons alleged that "Pembroke was Grand Master of the Masons for a number of years. While no primary evidence has survived to support this claim . . . there are poetic allusions to the 'rosie-rays' of Pembroke."[55] It is uncontested that Pembroke won respect as a patron to the arts. He was, for example, the testamentee of John Florio's library and together with Philip, Earl of Montague, a dedicatee of Shakespeare's First Folio in 1623. In 1628, Pembroke actively argued that England must gain Sweden for the Protestant alliance. At his death in 1630, Baerle praised him in ancient style by invoking the Pharaoes at Memphis.

For being a poet with a brittle mind, Baerle had a substantial network of foreign correspondents. He wrote to John Scot of Scotsarvit, Samuel Wallace, and Samuel Johnston, three Scotsmen who were connected (either by profession or by family) to two highly placed Scottish statesmen with Rosicrucian interests: First, the Latin secretary to James I, Thomas Reid (Rhaedus), who had met Joachim Morsius at Rostock in 1617, who in turn edited Reid's philosophic writings. Reid corresponded with the Rosicrucian Daniel Cramer and with Thomas Seghet, who also knew Morsius and Raphael Eglinus. Second, Baerle's Scotsmen worked with the poet William Drummond of Hawthornden, a relative of the esoterically inclined Robert Ker of Ancrum (1578–1654), owner of a copy of the *Fama* in the first Scots translation.[56]

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[54] F. F. Blok, *Caspar Barlaeus—From the Correspondence of a Melancholic*, Van Gorcum; Assen, 1976, pp. 3, 33.

[55] Ron Heisler, "Caspar van Baerle and Rosicrucianism" privately circulated manuscript (12 pages). With his secretary Oldisworth, who Baerle had occassion to write, Pembroke was involved in the East India Company, as well as with the Barbados.

[56] *Ibid.*, Cf. E. Wrangel (1897), pp. 35, 74: Baerle knew Swedish diplomats in Holland: Harald Appelboom, Erik Oxenstierna, and the Dutch poet in Swedish employ Johan van Narssen.

The Roaring Lion: Leo ex Silva Transformed into Leo Septentrionalis

There are a number of anonymous prints concerning the Lion of the Woods in 1621–22 that subtly dispose of Fredrick V and instead conjecture that after a great silence there will be a new even mightier roar, "for the Lion and Lioness must silence in death and be laid in the grave, until they are ressurrected." As did the Rosicrucian Chronogram of 1622, this text contains mention of the Palatine Commanders Mansfeldt and Christian (of Braunschweig).[57] Generally these prints have no place of origin; some of them are simply signed M.L.P. (Magni Leonis Postilio) and speak of the Brothers or Philadelphi of the Sixth Community. These Fratres Regis Christi now announce that the New Jerusalem has only narrowly escaped them, and "while they have until recently had a Cross, they will soon have a Rose."[58] There is a thrilling three-part *Leo Rugiens in Decisionis Prophetica belli Bohemici* published anonymously in 1623 and 1624 under the pseudonym Johannes Piscator of Newstadt. It carries the motto "Surget Leo in furore ut Aquilam perdat" (4 Ezra 12) and in it are posed seventeen questions on the future state of Bohemia. Prophecies born by the Rosicrucian authors Johan Faulhaber of Ulm and Andreas Mylius of Rostock support the idea of the return of the Lion.[59] In 1625, these quasi-Rosicrucian tracts were followed by an apocalyptic *Tuba Visitationis detonans et denotans* signed by the "Postilion, des grossen himmlischen Löwens und seine Seher" (Herald of the great celestial Lion and his seers) proclaiming a restitution of all things effected by three Lions associated with "König Frid." The coming great saviour will combine the virtues of Melchizedek, Leo Septentrionalis, and "Elias Trismegistos with the Scales and the Sword," that is, "a man in the spirit of Elijah, a Philadelph and friend of brothers."[60]

A second tract under the same signature entitled *Leo Septentrionalis consideratus et denotatus in Speculo Mirabilium Leonis de Tribu Juda* was

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[57] *Complement Bon avisorum Special Newe Avisen—Welche der Postilion des grossen Löwns vom geschlecht Juda hat gesehen in seinem Flore Prophetico und empfangenen involucro, welches ihme die fürnembste königin im himmlischen Rath Gottes im Walde geben 1622.* Print preserved in 37. Pol. (19) at HAB, Wolfenbüttel. The silence is an allusion to 4 Ezra 7:29, while the context is from Acts 3:19 and Revelations 14.

[58] *Ibid.* ". . . denen das Neue Jerusalem verheissen und haben einerley Creutz bisher gehabt so werden sie günstig auch einerley Rosen haben." Gilly attributes this writing to Paul Felgenhauer.

[59] 68.5. Pol. (3) HAB, Wolfenbüttel.

[60] 190.6. Qu. (1) HAB, Wolfenbüttel.

printed the following year.[61] In it, the text *Leo Rugiente* is attributed to the astronomer Paul Nagel at Halle, who in other writings predicted a catastrophic consummation of history in 1620 to 1624. There is no further indication of how the astro-spiritual and Rosicrucian considerations were brought into the propaganda. It is clear however that these leonine prints form a family of tracts, and that none of them draw directly on Paracelsus' prophecy. The theme is instead based on apocalyptic considerations, as in a shorter text of 1621 by Johannes Liptiz of Silesia. Liptiz offers seven ways of proving that 1623 is the year to end all iniquity, with the conclusion: "Rugiens patienter 1583, tandem Victurus 1623." Another tract of 1621 is signed by Christoph Bismarck of Halle-Saxonia and contains the announcement, "Der Herr wird Brüllen aus Zion, Das Ihre Höret/ Sehet/hie ist Er" (the Lord will roar out of Sion, so that ye will hear/and see/Here he is).[62]

The anonymous *Leo Septentrionalis* of 1625 states that already in 1526 one humble scrivener Jacob Fincelius had a similar vision in his house in Schmalkalden. The vision was described in print in 1556 and also more recently as *Vision oder gesicht von der Wahren Mitternächtigen Leuwens . . . von einen Gutten treu herzigen Freundt in Truck gegeben in Jar MDCXXI.* With a series of amusing illustrations, this text records how Fincelius saw a Lion sleeping on his kitchen bench while a group of men held council in his cellar. What they discussed remained hidden from him, but he saw the men approach the Lion with a chair. However, instead of offering him the chair they put it on top of the Lion and cut off his tail. The Lion again went to sleep, but in time grew even stronger. When the debating men made a second approach, the Lion was not so foolish as to have them hurt him again. He moved to another bench, placed at a right angle north of the first ("auf den rechten Bank," inscribed Septentrionalis). With a sudden roar the Lion rose to his feet, but in the same instant he was transformed into the risen Christ. The conspiring men could do nothing else than fling themselves at his feet in awe.[63]

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[61] 66.3. Pol. p. 28. Another copy at 190.6 Qu. (5) HAB, Wolfenbüttel.

[62] 190.6. Qu. (2), HAB, Wolfenbüttel. At 190. 6. (4) is Liptitz' text *Mysteria Apocalyptica das is Kurz und Gewisse demonstration, das in Anno Christi 1623 Die grossmächtige Enderung/mit bald hernach folgendem des Antichrists fewrigen Untergang einbrechen werde.*

[63] 37. Pol. (22), HAB, Wolfenbüttel. Quoting Joel 2:11. Items 18–26 all relate to the Lion. At 37. Pol. (21) is one Johannes Spinesius Anglicus, *Löwengeschrey. Das ist Kurze Offenbarung wegen des Durchlustigen Fredrik König in Böhme oder brüllende Löwen*, s.l. 1622.

As one quickly recognizes, the publishers of this tale wanted to draw attention to the successful Schmalkaldic league in 1526 and to the Protestant convention at Augsburg in 1556. At the same time, they wanted to prepare readers for the acceptance of a northern, probably Saxon prince. In all of these prints, the Lion acts as an apocalyptic icon for the risen Christ, thereby combining a sense of mystical resurrection with the political scenario of Bohemia: Fredrik V had to fail in order for the true Lion to emerge.

The Failure of the Dane and the Coming of the Lion

One event had been singled out by German millenarians even before the rise of Simon Studion: the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter was to appear in Leo in 1623. It is consequential that anonymous Rosicrucian tracts would appear in the same year on the Pont Neuf in Paris. Public warnings against Rosicrucianism were published shortly afterwards by Pierre Garasse, Marin Mersenne, and Gabriel Naudé. The detailed critique of kabbalistic commentaries on Genesis levelled by Mersenne set a tone in Paris against the new philosophy.[64] Mersenne's protegé René Descartes was simultaneously at work on a entirely new physics based on the mathematics he had discovered in Germany. A joke passed around that Descartes had to show himself on the streets in order not to be suspected of belonging to the new Rosicrucian invisibles. He probably had told his friends what was believed by German astronomers. In his Parisian document of 1623, Dupuy described the situation vividly:

> The belief of the Germans is that there are certain Protestant monks, formerly of the Cistercian order, who live on a rock on the shores of the Danube in an almost inaccessible place, where they remain in contemplation, undergoing fasts and austerities of great impressiveness in order to facilitate the establishment of their opinions. Their principal exercise is a search for the stone called the philosopher's, through which many believe they have reached perfection: The cloister is the meeting place of their brotherhood and their principal seat of habitation. The masters of their order never go out and distribute to others the essentials for life. . . . No more than three years have passed since

[64] Marin Mersenne, *Annotationes celeribrimae in Genesim*, Paris, 1623. Mersenne translated the *Sefer Yezira* in an attack on the Christian Kabbalah, *Observation et Emendationes ad Francisci Georgii Veneti Problemata*, Paris, 1623.

> these philosophers went down to the plains, in order to preach penitence, threatening the people with a terrible chastisement if they did not change their religion and life, crying out in a loud voice in all places that there will not be more than six years before the entire reformation of mankind, and the reparation of the universe through the renovation of their principles.[65]

The apocalyptic story of 1623 draws only lightly upon the content of the first Rosicrucian pamphlets, but still echoes semblances of them. The cloister setting reminds one of the Abbott of Sponheim, Trithemius, and his fellows. Since their founding by Bernard of Clairvaux, the Cistercians had given much instruction in alchemy and sacred geometry throughout France, and it was natural in a French Rosicrucian context to refer to an order involved in the twelfth century crusades.

Given the diplomatic activity emanating from the courts of Anhalt-Plötzkau, Anhalt-Cöthen, and Hesse-Kassel, it is no anachronism to see the fantastic sounding details of Dupuy's story placed as a remaining threat to Austro-Hungary, if even to the east in central Europe. For it was here in Tyrol, at Heiligen Creutz bei Hall, that Adam Haselmayer had lived before his imprisonment by Austrian Jesuits in 1612. As remarked in the Kassel edition of the *Fama*, Haselmayer was sentenced to four years in the Italian galleys by his former patron Maximilian of Bavaria, Grand Duke of Austria. Haselmayer had written a tract, *Antwort an die lobwürdige Brüderschaft der Theosophen von RosenCreutz* (1612), and he claimed that he had dropped an even more important tract in the bay of Genoa on his passage from Sicily, the lost *Monarchia stellae signatae*.[66]

The idea of spreading the prophecy on the "Löwe aus Mitternacht" to incite support from Saxony for the Palatine cause may even explain the printing of the two first editions of the *Fama* and *Confessio* at Kassel. The *Confessio* states, "our treasures will remain untouched and instirred, until the Lion doth come, who will ask them for his use, and employ them for the confirmation and establishment of his kingdom."[67]

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[65] See Marion L. Kuntz, "The Rose-Croix of Jacques Dupuis (1586–1656)" *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, 1981:2, p. 95. It may be significant that the Templar monastic rule was drawn up by Bernard de Clairvaux.

[66] Preface to *Confessio der Hocherlöblichen Ordens von Rosencreutz*, Frankfurt, 1615. See Carlos Gilly, Amsterdam, 1994, pp. 152ff.

[67] Thus, while the Lion prophecy is Paracelsian, it occurs in the first edition of

In 1617, Haselmayer produced an inspired writing that exemplifies his idea of the Lion: *Declaratio Simplex Syncere super propheticam nuper Parisiis inrupta antiqua turri inventam (S. Dionysij nuncupatam) in area marmorea reclusam & Hebraice scriptam . . .*, in which he purports to draw on a Hebrew text that explains a prophecy cut into the marble of Le Tour St. Jaques. Haselmayer addressed it to Pope Paul V and the Papal nuntio in France, Cardinal Borghese. Haselmayer lashed out to claim with harsh words that a good pastor was to emerge only "ex Thesauris Theosophorum." Through a sacrosant Cabala one could come to know and recognize "that great man, the Lion of the north, Elias Artista, the defender of eternal sapience and glory in the Church." This Leonine Elijah would not come with the sword, but he would heal the infirm, cast out demons, and like Moses speak of milk and honey, but with a fiery tongue. Antichrist, the son of perdition, was soon to perish in all of Africa, Asia, and Europe. Thus, Italy should beware and take heed, for while the Lion of the North remained hidden, he had been made known to those learned in Paracelsus' *Archodoxis Magica*, the great text revered by the true theodidacts and theosophs.[68] Haselmayer appeals to a magical tradition of the great Lion of the North, visible in the works of Paracelsus in 1536. His particular phrase, however, leads one to think of the alchemical red Lion depicted by Flamel at St. Denise and interpreted by the angelic invocations of Abraham the Jew, the unidentified master.

Another of those responsible at Kassel, Raphael Eglinus, the doctor of Paracelsian medicine at Marburg, took millenarian chronology very seriously. In 1617, he argued that there will be a new salvatory figure, a combination of the Lion and the Eagle, signified through a Griffin, ostensibly the coat-of-arms of Pomerania, but also a sign accorded to the Goths by Olaus Magnus. The projections were even more clearly underlined in the 1617 edition of the *Confessio* at Frankfurt, in which, at the place where the editors describe the Pope's tyranny—"the end shall be made of his ass's cry by a new voice"—they now insert the amplification "by the new voice of a roaring Lion."[69]

These leonine ideas had been developing for some time. The

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the Rosicrucian texts, possibly added by friends of the Paracelsian Adam Haselmayer. Cf. Frances Yates (1986), pp. 255–256.

[68] "Autore Haselmaier detentus in triremi". MS. 31.8 Aug. fol. ff. 73–76. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

[69] Bruce T. Moran (1992), p. 22. Frances Yates (1986), p. 255.

notion of a Northern Lion had been applied to the case of Saxony and Scotland by 1573 in Paul Grebner's *Sericum Mundi filum*, the text on the fourth book of Ezra to which Helisaeus Roeslin objected. Even earlier, at Prague, Cyprian Leowitz had predicted from the great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Cancer in 1563 that there would be wars in the heartland of Germany. Even so, knowledge would increase, the secret arts would be made known, and the biblical Leo ex Silva, the legendary Lion of the Woods, would step forth in Bohemia. Leowitz' predictions were studied in 1564 by John Dee, who added many marginal notes to his copy. Two years earlier, in 1562 in Paris, Dee had presented a now lost millenarian chart, *Cabbalisticae Haebrerorum compendiosa Tabella.* While he was reading Leowitz, Dee completed his *Monas*, in which he developed the mystical views of Trithemius on the seven angelic ages, which, as I have shown, was a scheme taken from the observations on the great conjunctions by the astronomer of the Sabéan sect, Abu Ma'shar.[70]

At the death of Rudolph II in 1612, some looked to Britain with expectations that King James and his offspring would save the Protestant cause in Germany, and above all in Würtemberg. Millenarian ideas about the Lion inspired King James in 1588 to complete his own calculations about the scenario in Revelations 20:7–10, and his commentary was read by courtiers at Hesse in 1604 and at Heidelberg in 1613. But the murder of Henry IV in Paris on the brink of his invasion of Jülich-Cleve in 1610, and the death just a year later of Prince Henry of Wales, shocked James to the point that he lost faith in an expansion of the Protestant cause. James had thought it expedient to marry Henry to a Catholic princess and later pursued the same plan with his Spanish match for his youngest son, Charles. The change of policy at the Jacobean court left the Protestants in this period to concentrate their expectations on Scandinavia. German prophets renewed their interest in the Dane, Christian IV. After all, there was the comet of 1596, "die Mitternächtige," seen only in the north.

But, in 1602 a counterforce was launched by the disaffected Tycho Brahe, who foresaw a future saviour born in Finland. Lotich then arrived to influence Duke Carl with the rose-crowned "F", cloven cross, and sephirotic tree in 1605. Considering the bloodshed that

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[70] R. J. W. Evans (1973), pp. 221ff. Also, Johan Nordström (1934), pp. 157ff. Cf. Michael Srigley (1986), p. 138n.

followed upon that day, the results of their political instructions were ferocious. Capitalizing on this, some rebel Catholics spread a clandestine pamphlet in Sweden with the propagandistic title, *Duke Carl's Slaughterbench* (1607), in which they argued that Carl not only had no lawful right to the throne but had also killed tens of thousands of innocent people throughout Sweden, Livonia, and Lithuania.[71] In 1617, the pamphlet was reprinted as if to say also that his son, the young Gustav Adolf, now sat in the eye of the storm.

In the winter of 1618, Faulhaber's comet appeared. Not long thereafter, the Paracelsian Lion prophecy was put together to support the Lion of the Woods, the Leo ex Silva, Fredrick of Würtemberg. The Bohemians had begun their rebellion and Fredrick V had arrived on the scene in Prague. In the early spring of 1620, Fredrick sent a message to Gustav Adolf. He pleaded for the Swedes to attack Livonia to prevent Sigismund of Poland from joining the Imperial troops in Bohemia. Gustav Adolf replied that he was willing to do so, but that he needed time to prepare for the Livonian campaign. The Swedes waited over a year. Johannes Bureus' sparsely marked diary for October 1620, after the Imperial army had destroyed the Heidelberg castle and transported its library to the Vatican, therefore reads, "the terror and error of Rome".[72]

After the disastrous defeat at the battle of White Mountain outside Prague on 8 November 1620, the Catholic League reversed the reformation of Czech and Polish lands by exiling all Protestant clergy. Throughout Protestant lands, evangelicals feared the coming storm. With Fredrick's leadership crushed, who now had the capacity to defend them? Surprisingly, because of the Saxon hereditary connection, everyone looked to the Danes, Christian IV and his son Fredrick, Prince of Norway.

To those who knew "how much wine occupied the Dane" (made evident to James in 1606 when Robert Cecil's masque *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*—designed by Inigo Jones with text by Ben Jonson now lost—was interrupted by the drunken Prince of Denmark who carried off the main actress to his bed), this solution did not commend itself.[73] Tycho's alternative prophecy of 1602 seemed to hold

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[71] The tract was written c. 1606 by the scribe Nicolas Barentonius, aided by the crypto-Catholic nobleman Jörgen Posse.

[72] Bureus' diary, 8 Oct.–7 Nov. 1620, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 72.

[73] "Wine did so occupy their inner chambers" observed John Harrington, quoted by Thomson, who apparently thinks James was the carrier. But "His Majesty" is

more promise: there just had to be someone more capable. There was the Swede, distant and energetic, crowned in 1617. For his coronation in Stockholm, tournaments were held with Gustav Adolf styled in armour as the Gothic King Berik in combat with Alarik, his elder cousin Johan Cassimir of the Palatinate-Zweibrücken. The Swedes knew all to well the inflated character of the Dane, and were not encouraged by watching him squander money on the beaten Fredrick at the Hague. As Geoffrey Parker observes, "most of these transactions were kept secret to his council: the full range of the [Danish] king's financial and political commitments, which so endangered the policy of non-intervention desired by the council, became manifest only in 1623–24."[74]

The fateful great conjunction now appeared. Activities on all fronts were set up to form a new Protestant alliance. On August of Anhalt's advice, Morsius repeated the Lion prophecy. In November 1623, as we have seen, Ludwig Camerarius persuaded Gustav Adolf, as Parker puts it, "to descend the Vistula in order to invade Bohemia, restore Fredrick and depose Ferdinand. However, the Elector of Brandenburg (Gustav's brother-in-law) pointed out that a direct challenge to the emperor might alienate more support than it gained. Instead, he proposed that Sweden intervene in the west and regain the Palatinate." Gustav was prepared to do this with 40,000 men provided by Sweden, England, and the German princes. But, "the king refused to allow France as a full member of his proposed Protestant coalition, despite the fact that James I had already agreed to send a joint Anglo-French expeditionary force, led by Count Mansfeld, to the Palatinate."[75]

In June, 1624, a treaty between France and the Dutch was sealed at Compiègne. The principalities of Baden and Braunschweig courted the wealthy Dane more vigourously. Only a month later, in July, Morsius arrived in Sweden to discuss highly important Rosicrucian matters with the royal archivalist, Johannes Bureus. They may have concluded that the Palatine cause was the same as the Protestant cause and that this was not only the viewpoint of the Palatine exiles and their allies, but also a connection laid out in the Book of Revelations.

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of course a reference to the rowdy Prince Christian, who drank too much. Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Professional Career*, Cambridge University Press; Cambridge, 1992. Canto reprint 1994, p. 175.

[74] Geoffrey Parker (1987), p. 74.

[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 81.

In March, 1625, war was raging in Saxony, and Christian IV heard that three suns had appeared in Mecklenburg, and in the middle sun had been a red cross. A conference of the Saxon allies was to be held at the Hague in April. Both Maurice of Nassau and King James died in that month, so the conference was postponed to November. Christian grew more melancholy and indecisive. The Palatine Commander Mansfeld advanced towards Hamburg with a sizeable fleet raised in England, followed by a descent down the Elbe towards Anhalt. Mansfeldt was defeated by Wallenstein at Dessau Bridge on 25 April 1625, and was then chased into Hungary. The Danish King was told that while Brandenburg was trying to get the Swede to join the evangelical cause, Gustav Adolf now refused. But then, while staying in the castle Rothenburg on 8 December, in intense prayer for the Evangelical Church, Christian had an overwhelming vision of the suffering Christ, the elected "King of the Jews"—mocked, tortured, and condemned by Pilate (Matthew 27:27). After much soul-searching, he decided to enter the war. Bureus was exhilarated by this development, and he welcomed the evangelical hero with the diary note AVE CREUSTIAN. The timing of the Danish intervention, however, was disastrous. Without Christian's knowledge, the wealthy Bohemian Count Wallenstein was gathering a Catholic army in the southeast. Also, France left the coalition for invading the Palatinate because of the Huguenot uprising in La Rochelle led by the Duc de Soubise. Nevertheless, Christian threw the dice. The disastrous battle at Lutter am Barenberg took place on 26 August, 1626: Christian was defeated, abandoned his troops, and fled northwards to Wolfenbüttel.

The subsequent Danish treaty of non-aggression with the Poles worried the Swedes, who thought it wise to execute the Rosicrucian extatic, Matthias Pfennig, on 28 April 1627. In the fall, Wallenstein overturned a second Danish army in Schlesien and advanced into Mecklenburg. The Imperial troops chased the Danes far into Jutland, burning everything in sight, but they did not cross the sound. Christian IV was pressed to cede all his lands in Holstein and would have to pay an enormous levy for Jutland. With no remorse for the fate of the Dano-Saxons, Sweden pursued an aggressive design in Polish Prussia. However, after an approach by the British envoy Thomas Roe, who offered the Order of the Garter at Stettin in 1627, Gustav Adolf was swayed to negotiate directly with Brandenburg for a Swedish-led anti-Habsburg campaign. The Garter ceremony was con-

temporary with an anonymous offer of a chronogram for 1627, a formula in hexameter transposed an astonishing 24,480 times and written out on no less than 348 quarto pages, now preserved at Wolfenbüttel: SIt paX Da paCIs peto ReX tV teMpore nostro, proceeding in neat lines by replacement through Nostro ReX paX Da tV sIt peto teMpore paCIs to the result at line 23,800: Nostro teMpore paX sIt da tV reX peto paCIs.[76] These vigourous tactics of spiritual persuasion add a dimension to the reasons Gustav Adolf had for turning away from an advance on Polish Prussia, as the Swedes sealed their own six-year peace with Poland. The Swedish king finally arranged to meet the unfortunate Christian IV on the Danish border in February 1629. He offered to bring him into his alliance for a campaign against Wallenstein launched from Stralsund in Pomerania, but the crux was that the Dane showed every sign of fear. Scornfully, Gustav Adolf wrote to Oxenstierna: "Mountains were in labour and gave birth to a mouse." Humiliated once more, Christian retired to drink "ros de sol" (a spicy aquavit) at Rosenborg, the castle that he built for himself.[77]

The Midnight Lion of Magdenburg

The influence of Johannes Bureus in Sweden is not an easy matter to determine; he was admonished and rejected by the King in 1621, but as events developed and as the court probably learned of Ludwig of Anhalt's Rosicrucian design, matters changed. While the Paracelsian Lion prophecy was at work in Denmark, Gustav Adolf commissioned Bureus to prepare an edition of *Konungastyrelse*—a manuscript on the Rule of Kings—that would be of much use in arguing for the legitimacy of Swedish overlordship in the Baltic. The Lübeck Rosicrucian Joachim Morsius had brought a great deal of news for his personal talk with Bureus in Stockholm in the summer of 1624. Instead of having to face a growing isolation, the royal antiquarian learned more of the Rosicrucians in England and of Anhalt's very determined

[76] "Vertumnus sive Proteus Poeticus", MS. 58.2 Aug. 8 at HAB, Wolfenbüttel. I have no evidence that Gustav received a copy; the elaborate effort would however been ideal for a broadsheet or gift. Perhaps Charles Stuart, Christian IV, or simply the Devil, was the intended recipient.

[77] See Bodil Wamberg, *Christian IV—en man under indflytelse*, Gad; Copenhagen, 1993, pp. 184–199.

circle of Protestant politicians. On the same day, right after the discussion with Morsius, Bureus ate dinner with Carl Körning, an obscure German apothecary settled in Stockholm who specialized in alchemy. Bureus records several subsequent alchemical discussions with Körning, the practise that Bureus refined in cooperation with his relative the royal astronomer, Andreas Bure.[78]

Bureus was called upon to visit the King several times before the campaign in Prussia. In January, 1627, Bureus was asked to dine with "Count Abraham," probably Brahe, the skilled astronomer and possessor of Rosicrucian tracts. Then, suddenly, in April, Gustav Adolf asked Bureus to teach him Greek. Bureus had to bring with him the polyglot Bible published by Arias Montano in 1571, for the King was interested in reading the New Testament.[79]

Unfortunately, there is no record left of the issues raised while they studied the Greek Bible text. It could be argued that because of Pfennig's trial, it was highly dangerous to expound on the Rosicrucian interpretation. There can be no doubt, however, that Bureus was very involved in such themes; in May of 1627, the jeweler Hans Stensnidare lent him a copy of the *Aureum Vellus*, the esoteric text on the Golden Fleece. Having read a recent print of passages on a Leonine confederation excerpted from a print presenting parts of *Sericum Mundi filum* by Paul Grebner, and having worked on Johan Alsted's chronological tables *Diatribe de mille annis* (1627), Bureus was fully prepared to persuade Gustav Adolf to take on the role of the political saviour, the role of the Lion of the North said to rise in Paracelsian prophecy.[80]

Anhalt's Saxon diplomacy proved to be clever, decisive, and dangerous as he handed out tools of propaganda with unusual power. Grebner's prophecy of a northern Lion was sucessfully combined with Paracelsian prophecy to make way for the acceptance of the Dane as leader of the Lower Saxon Circle. After the crushing defeat of the Dane, Wallenstein also seemed ready to exploit the rumours of the Lion of the North by deposing the Mecklenburg princes and becoming himself Duke of Friedland. Johannes Kepler was employed to cast astrological charts for Wallenstein's huge army; the astronomer responded by dedicating a copy of his musical tract *Harmonices Mundi*

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[78] Bureus' diary, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 93.
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

(1621) to the General of Friedland. No wonder, then, that frightened eye-witnesses in Mecklenburg reported that they had seen "a great northern army carried in the air."[81] By 1629, Habsburg power threatened to assert itself over all German princes, and Wallenstein proclaimed himself "General of the Baltic and Oceanic seas."

As in the case with Prussia, Bureus had several audiences with the King before the Swedish campaign in Pomerania in the Spring of 1629. In March and April, the old antiquarian payed visits to the royal councillor Johan Skytte. These meetings resulted in Bureus' advice of what books Gustav should take with him to Germany. Significantly, Bureus let himself be painted that summer with the signs of the four evangelists around his portrait. In the fall, he loaned three alchemical tracts to one "Marcus," a Paracelsian tract *Sofia Panacetes, The Fountain of Health*, and the *Turba Philosophorum*.[82]

In August, 1630, while the Swedish Army was lodged in Pomerania, Bureus completed a new set of signs in his notebook *Sigilli Mysteria*. Here, he worked out a special image of a fortified tower on which stands ARIEL the Lion holding in his right hand a book of seven seals and a key. Bureus terms it the "Evangelion Aionalis," Greek for the Lion's Evangel. The entrance to the tower is flanked on each side by pillars, taken together to signify the number 1290. In the entrance to the Tower, as if it were its host, the sign Mercury is placed, making it a Paracelsian fortress. To the left, calculations are made on the chronograms DILVVIVM and IVDICIVM, that is, on the years 1567 and 1613, and are then added to with 1621. To the right, similar computations are made in Hebrew. Two emblems are chiseled into the frame, an hourglass and a candlestick. Beneath the motto, "Ecce vicit ARIEL solvere Septem sigilli libri," a sevenfold sequence of mystical numbers appears: 1290, 331, 1621, 7, 1614, 1290, 324. The Lion on the roof of the tower appears to be the true soul of Bureus himself.[83]

Bureus' elaborate emblems, however, were not employed when the Lion prophecy was printed once more by Lutherans in 1631–32, when some fifteen propagandistic editions were spread throughout Saxony and Brandenburg to announce the arrival of Gustav Adolf.

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[81] Nils Ahnlund, *Storhetstidens Gryning*, Stockholm, 1918, p. 174.

[82] Bureus' diary, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 116.

[83] *Sigilli Mysteria, proposito 25 Literarum*, MS. Y 31, Uppsala UB. Bureus final redaction toyed with the line "AXe VehIt septeM traDIt sIgna Leo," or 1568.

The publishing history of these documents remains obscure. With growing ambitions, Sweden concluded an anti-Habsburg alliance with France at Bärwalde in 1631, and a brutal Catholic sacking and pillaging of the Protestant capital Magdeburg dispelled the initial suspicion of the German princes: Fredrick Wilhelm of Brandenburg then promised the Swede an honorary degree at Wittenberg for his illegitimate son Gustav Gustavsson of Wasaborg. Johan Georg of Saxony joined with an independent anti-Catholic army. The Swedes were victorious at Breitenfeld, liberated the Palatinate, and advanced through the rich districts of Franconia to winter quarters at Mainz. At this moment of triumph, the exiled William of Hesse (abdicated since 1627) approached the Swede at Gustavsburg near Mainz with a special plan for a general pacification.[84]

The change in German attitudes towards the Swede is reflected in an apocalyptic tract published at Magdeburg in the spring of 1632, just after the city was liberated by the Swedes, *Untershiedliche Passporten des aus Mitternacht Adelischen und untadelischen eylenden im Teutschland ankommende Postreuters.* The anonymous postal messenger salutes Leo SeptentrIonalIs VerItatIs VInDeX Io trIVMphat, thereby recognizing the hero from the north. The text points out that the Swedish King had told one of his councellors of three consecutive dreams that he had in 1610 as a young man studying at Rostock: in the first Gustav Adolf sees himself taking a large piece of land from the Moscovites, in the second he takes cities from the Polish King, and finally, in the third he seizes the Crown from the Roman Emperor. After citing all the biblical passages concerning the Lion of the North, the author quotes the statement on the Lion in the Rosicrucian *Confessio.* There is brief mention of what Andreas Libavius and Adam Haselmeyer had said of the Rosicrucians and a quotation from the *Fama Remissa ad Fratres R.C.* (n.p. 1616) that there will be "one like unto a light for the just," the Midnight Lion born around 1600. Further authority is derived from Paul Grebner's Leonine visions printed in 1618 and from Cyprian Leowitz' prophecy on the mutations of times now applied to the great conjunction of 1623 in Leo. As if this was not enough, a row of medieval prophets using the scenario are displayed: Lactantius comments on the harsh north wind as God's wrath in Revelations 16 and 17 in his *Seven books of Divine Manifestation.* Paracelsus points to similar ideas in the 11th, 13th, 14th,

[84] Günther Barudio (1985), pp. 501, 502, 555.

and 27th figures of the papal prophecies of Joachim di Fiore. To provide more updated conviction, a text entitled *De Leone Rugiente*, printed at Brandenburg in 1619 is praised, as are also the visions the nineteen-year-old Susanna Rügerin had at Würzburg on 19 November 1630. With exhaustive sources, the anonymous author traces the development of the Leonine theme from the Old Testament prophets through Joachim Di Fiore to the Rosicrucian texts and subsequent prophets. Dedicated to Gustav Adolf's bride, Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg, the text closes with a report from December, 1631, on an eruption of the volcano Etna in Naples; "einer aus der Mitternacht" will quell it by a flood of waters.[85]

After winter quarters in the Rhineland, Gustav Adolf left for Bavaria to ride triumphantly through Munich with Fredrick V, ex-king of Bohemia, at his side. The Swedish King now talked of a rebalancing of the imperial constitution and of a return to the political status quo ante 1618. He aimed to secure the Baltic ports from the Vistula to the Elbe for Sweden. Preparations were made for a descent along the Danube towards Vienna. But then Wallenstein's movements in the north forced the Swedes to retreat from their secure footing in the south. On the way to Lützen in 1632, Gustav and Fredrick V were celebrated by the merchants of the city of Nüremberg, who offered them two silver trophies made in 1620 for the Bohemian court. The trophies showed the toil of Hercules and Atlas (with a recently added crown) in carrying the earthly and heavenly globes. The celestial globe born by Atlas was etched with the new star of 1572 behind Cassiopeia's throne, and as the lion-clad Hercules carried the globe topped by the statue of Fame. Hyperborean myth and Rosicrucian hopes had set the scene.[86]

Ahnlund has doubted the reliability of the local traditions maintaining that by 1630 Gustav Adolf was the Lion, that he wore a golden Lion around his neck in battle, and that he once referred to apocalyptic omens resembling the text in Ezra 4, chs. 11 and 12, concerning the struggle between the Lion and the Eagle. Rumours

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[85] *Untershiedliche Passporten*, Magdeburg, 1632. Tract no. 178 in the Planer collection at Uppsala UB, pp. 24, 30, 33, 60. Cf. Oskar Planer, *Verzeichnis der Gustav Adolph Sammlung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Schlacht am 6/16 November 1632*, Haessel; Leipzig, 1916.

[86] The Hyperborean myth tells of how Hercules takes over the globe so that Atlas can have a taste of the golden apples in the garden of the Hesperides. The trophies are now on display in the Royal Castle, Stockholm.

such as these are always difficult to verify, and the same must be said of the official Catholic statement ten years later that Gustaf Adolf wore a turquoise-blue stone on a golden chain, a Paracelsian charm.[87] Recall, however, that the chief monument at Gustavsburg in 1631, the Swedish fortress at Mainz, was a pillar mounted by a Lion.

There is also the episode some months after the death of the Swedish King at Lützen, when a curved magical sword was presented to the royal astrologer Jean-Baptiste Morin in Paris. It carried astrological signs reversed and shifted, and towards its tip the signs of mercury and the sun were drawn with the inscription "audaces fortuna iuvat, timidosque repellit." Morin was told that it had been found on Gustav Adolf's blood-stained body. When Queen Christina passed through Paris in 1656, she was shown the sword. Morin told her that the Italian scholar Athanasius Kircher had deciphered the signs as invocations to the angels Seraphiel, Harbiel, Maladriel, Kiriel, and Uziel, that is, to the kabbalistic angels of protection, of flames, of resolve, of diversion, and of force. A sceptical Swede, Georg Wallin, studied the documents concerning the sword in 1746 and argued that it must have been a forgery. This curved magical sword was not made of Swedish steel and Gustav was known to have used another, more efficient, straight sword.[88]

In some respects it is true that Paracelsian prophecy was an all too heterogeneous force to be agreeable with the homogenous creed of Swedish Lutheranism. Ahnlund, however, did not take into account the fact that the Paracelsian idea of the Lion from the North had been an integral part of providential thinking in Northern Europe since 1572, that it had been of recent use in Denmark, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Scotland, and that the full prophetical doctrine behind it was familiar to propagandists. In 1637, Bureus was even told that the three blue lions of the Danish coat-of-arms was brought back by Canute the Firm from England; the nine hearts were added by the Danes.[89] Could not the Swedish King have accepted this historical consciousness as had the Dane and the Scot? Ahnlund argues that

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[87] See Petrus Baptista Bürgi's *Mars Sueco-Germanicus*, Cologne, 1644, p. 230, cited in Günther Barudio (1985), pp. 608, 615, 697.

[88] The sword was given by Richelieu to Bonface Borilly at Aix-en-Provence; see Georg Wallin, *Dissertatio prima de gladio magico Gustavi Adolphi suecorum regis*, Leipzig, 1746, pp. 45–46. Also Francois Secret, "Un episode oublié de la vie de Peiresc: La Sabre Magique de Gustave Adolphe", *Dix-septième Siècle*, 1979.

[89] Bureus' diary, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 125.

as a matter of historical fact he did not, that there is no evidence.

More important to Ahnlund is that even if Gustav Adolf did accept such ideas no particular decision followed from them, and they were irrelevant to real political decisions. One should consider that the natural goal for the Northern Lion was said to be that he become Emperor over the Germans. Some of this imperial rhetoric can certainly be seen in later Swedish propaganda for Carl X Gustav during the Polish War of 1657. As Sven Göransson has shown, most of these panegyrics are based on Nicolas Drabicus' illustrated Bohemian prophecies about the reappearance of the Lion from the woods, the emblem of Würtemberg, redistributed and extended by Amos Comenius as *Lux in Tenebris* (Amsterdam, 1651).[90] In the case of Gustav Adolf's actions in the Thirty Years' War, it is maintained that the goal of the Swedes was always to secure the Baltic ports and Russian trade, and that they were forced to extended action down German rivers merely to secure territory to forestall Imperial advance. In this, Gustav Adolf may have been an object of prophecy, but he was never subject to it.

Yet, Bureus' sketch for a new Rosicrucian pamphlet of 1626, his conversation with the King on New Testament Greek in 1627, and his Leonine model for the breaking of the seals in 1630, adds evidence that the significance of these apocalyptic themes was thoroughly familiar to Gustav Adolf from the start of the Swedish phase of the Thirty Years' War. This being said, one cannot rule out that the Lion prophecy, as a critical part of Baltic Rosicrucianism, both shaped and confirmed Gustav Adolf's exceptional role as sovereign and as military leader. However, no evidence has been found to resolve the biographical question of whether such a psychological acceptance translated into any significant decision.

Angelic Voices: ARIEL, EOA and the URNA Vasorum

It is possible to come closer to Bureus' mind by considering his private notebook, *Discursus metalogicus ex schola Danielis—Logica Prophetica sive Adulruna nova* (1629–1640). The origin of the method presented in these pages is somewhat unclear. Bureus showed the book to the

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[90] Sven Göransson, "Sverige och de synkretistiska striderna i Tyskland 1649–1654" *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift*, 1948. On Drabik, cf. Yates, *Rosicrucian*, p. 158.

Hermetic spokesman Joachim Morsius, whom he received as a guest in Stockholm in July and August of 1624. It was after seeing Morsius that Bureus contacted a Jewish merchant in Stockholm, Johan Paur (Baur). Of Paur, little else is known. However, Bureus revealed the mystery of the *Buccina* to Morsius by pointing to the Book of Revelations, chs. 11 and 14. Bureus also taught Morsius his new method: "symbolo novam logicam quadrativam." A "quadrative" method is illustrated in the notebook, one that consists of casting alphabetical fortunes by manipulating statements given in Latin, Swedish, or as Bureus was wont to do, in Runes. Bureus began by showing how to manipulate the eighteen letters in Morsius' seal IHESUS MEA HEREDITAS.[91] These arrangements, or "URNA Vasorum," as he called them, were worked out in red and green, or even yellow, ink, on pre-printed sheets displaying blank slates set in an iris of light. They are very useful for finding out what Bureus was thinking of at the time.

Some clear indications show the presence of a special millenarian expectation in Bureus' thinking, like the expectations most current in the writings of the heretic Jesuit Guillaume Postel. For example, Bureus twice manipulates the word, "velociter currit sermo eius" to reach a statement concerning Elias Tertius, a figure spoken of in Rosicrucian pamphlets, and called by the Paracelsians "Elias Artista." The third Elijah would rise after John the Baptist to fulfil the last verses of the Old Testament in *Malachi* 4:5. Of this prophet, Postel had written: "Et ideo dicunt in Orationibus Elias propheta, Elias profeta, Elias profeta, tribus vicibus," in his *Restitutio Omnium* (Paris, 1552), a tract that had been taken in the sixteenth century to be foundational for a sect of Postellians, who held heavenly manna or dew to be the highest form of spiritual nourishment.[92]

Bureus' second scheme forces the incantation "his name shall be saviour," to project a female figure, if not quite the Mother Johanna of Venice with whom Postel had experienced the *Schekina* in 1547,

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[91] MS. F.a.8. f. 97, 100, 142, 269. KB, Stockholm. In other attempts, Bureus turns up Averroes, kabbalistic angels, or alchemy, as in f. 387.

[92] The "sacrum castrum" of Bureus' *Ara Foederis* (1616) is of the same inspiration as the famous image in Theophilus Schweighardt, *Speculum Sophicum Rhodostauroticon* (1618), which together with Bureus' *FaMa* (1616) forms a special branch in the flood of prints by explicitly following the *Confessio* in forming a "Tertriune" college for the divine Elias. The *FaMa* is full of ideas about the "pane vitarum" of Ezechiel 34:19 and Isaiah 28:9.

and whose anima Postel considered to be the Messiah.[93] Still, Bureus scribbles a finger pointing to the drawing and adds, "colour the iris golden"!

1631	1631
V E L O C	H A N S.N
I T E R.C	A M P N.T
U R R R I	E T K A L
T.S E R M	A S. F R E
O E I U S	L S A R E

V miraculi tolle Tres E ELIE R
centri core RR buccina Mosis.

HALELUIA L clamanti Susannae pacifica
Sanatore R cantilenae Haleluja.

Bureus' enthusiasm stemmed from reports about Susanna Rügerin at Würzburg, a young woman who in 1630 experienced visions about the arrival of the Swedes in Germany. Another of Bureus' attempts in this logic dates from 1628 and is entitled: "Ex Profundo". The "x" being crowned, the arrangement bears a close resemblance to the sephirothic tree. Manipulated by Bureus, it resonates with ideas found in his early Rosicrucian pamphlets: "Is it not Elias Tertius with whose cross I resonate, is it not the union of P(ostel) in which I crawl/restore, (repo/repono)?" Possibly, the "P" could also designate Paracelsus.[94]

A second anagram—based on a dream that his second wife Ingeborg had when she was twelve years old—forms the strange exhortation: "Dear father mine, touch the goat." Transposed twice, it ironically becomes "Company is a most faithful admonition to brittle prophets."

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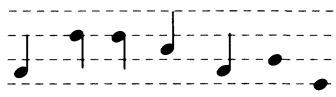
[93] On the mother of the world, Johanna, see Guillaume Postel, *Les très-Merveilleuse Victoires des femmes du nouveau monde*, Paris, 1553, and also his MS. now at Basel, *Chavae sive Eva matris omnium viventium . . . editae ex libro Behir, id est lucis purissma* (1648)—using material from *Sefer-ha-Bahir*, the book of brilliance and *Sefer-ha-Raziel*, the book of secrets.

[94] It is argued that *Fama*'s allusion to the Arabic Liber M(agia) would be to Paracelsus' Liber M(ineralibus), cf. Frances Yates (1986), pp. 44, 244, and Paul Arnold (1990), p. 153. Liber T(hesaurus) of the *Fama* could well be, as Edighoffer suggests, Ibn Umail's twelfth century *Tabula Chemica* or the Hermetic *Tabula Smaragdina*, see below n. 50.

1628	1636
ω	K E R E
E X P	M I N.F
R O F	A R T A
U N D	G.P Å G
o	E T E N
E.R. cruce resono:	Kompagnie E skira propheternes
P foedere repo	trogneste förmaning N.

And then Bureus even permutates various chants.[95] The final interpretation of these songs I leave to the reader:

1631	1634
UT. FA FA MI. UT RE V	U. MU SI CA. IN. LI MO
Amisit Therafim R. favet. RUT 1:19	Upsalia ridisti I unica N Lumino
Haec est illa pulchra non Heva prius Hera	In te laetamur ovantes A Prati, RE MI FA
	I limitavi Naturae A terminet Profetias
========	=========
He has sent away the Therafim R. rejoices. Ruth 1:19,	Uppsala you have laughed in unique light
"... all the city was moved about them. And they said, rejoyce, Is this Naomi?"	In you we will cheeringly triumph, from Meadows RE MI FA
She is the beautiful one not Eve, she who earlier was Hera	As I have been limited by Nature the Prophecies must end

Bureus felt an angelic voice speaking through these prophetical arrangements (the voice of Ariel). He saw them as a method for "nightly regeneration" and in his notes the frequent marking "lay-

[95] F. 206, 132, MS. F.a.8, KB, Stockholm.

ing EOA" meant working out the URNA Vasorum, in itself abbreviating the prophetic Greek pronouncement of Mark 4:23, "o E'xon Ous Akonsato," "if any man hath ears, let him hear".

Some Observations on Paul Grebner's Visions

The early Swedish reception of leonine prophecy sheds light in another important context. After the execution of Charles I in 1649, concern rose in England about the mythical return of "Carolus Rex, the second Charles," spoken of in Paul Grebner's visions from Prague. In Hartlib's circle, therefore, the "173rd Banner" of Grebner was discussed. While Grebner's use of IUDICIUM, they reasoned, must be a chronogram for 1613, there was also mention of "Annius temporis Rex Svecia," now taken to indicate the year when Johan III of Sweden married a papistical woman (Katharina Jagellonica). These anti-royalists pointed out that Grebner's vision probably had been a tacit warning to Queen Elisabeth, for in 1559, Johan had personally handed a marriage-proposal to her from his half-brother, King Erik XIV. They now saw that the vision was primarily aimed at Carolus DUX, King Johan's brother.[96] Grebner's message was simply that if the Swedish Duke steered clear of the Popish league, he could become a Carolus Magnus to the Protestants. This new "Charles le Magne of the North" would oppose King Johan's wife and the Popish League, to show that "not Johan, but Charles his brother should take the kingdom." Then, "with other Christians he will be a valiant and fierce warrior, he will banish the popish wife and then the Swede shall turn against Anti-Christ and have happy success . . . Charles the great, son of Charles, shall with great fortune rule over the people of the north."

Grebner's flamboyant hero was not at all meant to be taken as a restored British king, it was rather the Swede, Charles IX, maternal grandfather to Charles X (d. 1660). In all likelihood, this detailed investigation was provoked by the masonic song of merriment published in Edinburgh in 1638:

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[96] MS. Sloane 648, f. 32–33, 37. British Library. The prophecy is taken from a book in Trinity College, Cambridge, and may have been related to the work of Joseph Mede. The year of accession of John III, 1568, is used in combination with IUDICIUM, 1613, in Bureus' *FaMa e Scanzia Redux*, of which there is a copy in these papers.

> For we be the brethren of the Rosie Cross;
> We have the mason word and second sight,
> Things for to come we can foretell aright;
> And shall we know what mysterie we meane,
> in fair acrosticks CAROLUS REX, is seene
> Described upon that bridge, in perfect gold:
> by perfect art this clearly we behold.[97]

What kind of bridge the Scottish poet wanted to build is not revealed; one can guess that it concerned the election of Charles I as King of Scotland in the same year, taken by the Scots to ensure a non-Puritan freedom of faith. In any case, Grebner's prophecy was translated and published in 1650, apparently by non-monarchists. Despite the Puritan attempt to de-dramatize events, these overarching views of providence remained relevant when Thomas Sprat illustrated his *History of the Royal Society* (London, 1667) with its much discussed engraving. Demonstratively, President William Brouncker here points directly to the Roman numeral II on the pillar carrying the bust of the restored British monarch, Charles Stuart, the king to whom British astronomers were to offer a new astral constellation: Carolis Cor.[98]

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[97] Henry Adams, *The Muses' Threnodie*, Edinburgh, 1638, p. 31. I thank M. K. Schuchard for drawing my attention to these famous verses in their more completed form.

[98] Cf. Frances Yates (1986), pp. 209ff., ill. 30.

CHAPTER FOUR

QUATERNIONS AND DEW: POSTEL AND THE ROSICRUCIANS

The reception of Johannes Bureus' *FaMa e sCanzIa reDUX* shows that his formulation of the foretold Rosicrucian outpouring of grace was understood to be set within a larger millenarian and geographic context. He sent it anonymously to universities in Schleswig-Holstein, Pommerania, and Dukal Prussia; it was read in Giessen, Wolfenbüttel, and Paris. Even Robert Burton, author of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, 1624), had a copy in his library (the second edition of 1618). The approaching new age appeared to stir ideas in all of the political and reformist debates in northern Europe. It is revealing that in van Franckenberg's explanatory package appended to his beautifully handrawn copy of Bureus' *FaMa*, there is added a full transcription of the very rare mystical text on which Bureus draws, Guillaume Postel's *Candelabri Typici in Mosis Tabernaculo* (Venice, 1548).[1] As Franckenberg saw, Postel's influence extends into the very structure of Bureus' apocalyptic scheme.

The Instauration of the New Age: Helias Artista and Helias Tertius

Postel's influence on other early Rosicrucians has seldom been considered, except by an early author in France who had access to Bureus' pamphlet. In a public warning of 1623, Gabriel Naudé argued that the Rosicrucians were German Paracelsians who expected a return of Elias Artista, the ideal alchemical craftsman. Naudé pointed out that similar ideas were taken up by Elia Pandocheus, the heretic millenarian Guillaume Postel, whose program of universal reform was published as *Panthenousia* (Paris, 1547).[2] Postel argued

[1] Franckenberg's copy of Bureus' *FaMa* is bound with a copy of Postel's "Interpraetatio Candelabri". Cod. N 157B, Leiden UB. On Postel's sources in Petrus Galatinus and Beatus Amadeus' *Apocalypsis nova*, cf. Francois Secret, "Guillaume Postel et les courants prophetique de la Renaissance" *Studi Francesi*, 1957, pp. 375–395.

[2] Gabriel Naudé, *Instruction à la France* (Paris, 1623), pp. 43, 46, 48–52. Naudé

for a universal reformation, "an instauration of all things," as Naudé calls it, an instauration led by the prophet Elijah, with whom Postel identified. It is interesting to find that Bureus' copy of the *Panthenousia* is marked up with comments, chiefly in the sections on Arabic and on a possible concordance between the Hebrews, the Christians, and the Ishmaelites, the Islamic messianic sect. Postel held that to bring about this concordance among the three faiths, there is a need for some new Jesuites, but real ones, preferably to be called "Jesuives". Critical of Catholic idolatry and the pretention of the pseudonym Elia Pandocheus, Bureus adds to his copy: "This Postel cannot be Elijah, as he is an anti-Lutheran." Bureus knew that Postel had written a critical diatribe in which he compares the Lutheran doctrine with aspects of the Koran. Thus, an "Ars Eliana," an art of correct prophecy, could be worked out only by "Ariel, the Lion of God," Bureus himself.[3]

Naudé argued that Postel's "instauration of all things by the hand of Elijah the Prophet" was identical to Roger Bacon's idea of a future instauration and renovation of all arts. Naudé based this on his reading of Bacon's letters published at Hamburg in 1618 as *Epistola Fratris Rogerii Baconis De Secretis Artis et Naturae et de nullitate Magia* with a dedication to the "Clarissimis Restitutionis universi Phosphoris, illuminatis, Rosae Crucis Fratribus Unamis." The text included John Dee's notes on Bacon, material from Fludd and from the millenarian Thomas Brightman, and was edited by "P. S.", probably Patrick Saunders, the English medical student who in 1617 signed the album amicorum of Joachim Morsius.[4] Naudé pointed to the statement in the preface stating that the new age would effect a return to original justice, beginning with a conversion of the Jews and the Ishmaelites.

In 1623 in Paris, another observation was written down to explain that the new sectarians were followers of Paracelsus:

> The Rose Cross is an imaginative invention by a group of persons who use it as their symbol and mark. Besides this it means nothing. They claim that an ancient wisdom has been transmitted from Adam

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cites Postel's manuscript *Instaurationem omnium per manus Heliae prophetae.* Deliberately or not, Naudé shows no sign of having read Francis Bacon's *Instauratio Magna* (London, 1620).

[3] "Hic Postellus non est Elias, quia Anti-Lutheranus" (Bureus' marginal note in *Panthenousia*). Cf. *Nordandalejonsens rytande*, Uppsala, 1644, appendix.

[4] For Patrick Saunders, see Ron Heisler, "Rosicrucianism in Britain", *The Hermetic Journal* 1989, pp. 30–61, esp. p. 38.

> through Seth, Noah, and Moses to Solomon, and that this wisdom was revealed by the Arabs to the foreigners in 1413.... It has since been preserved in obscure terms by the alchemists Basilius Valentinus, Theophrastus, Isaac the Hollander, Severinus Danus, Paracelsus, Raymond Lull, Valentin Conrad, and Robert Fludd... and the labor of kindred spirits will by a continuous application for one hundred years reach a point where they will reveal themselves to the world as paramount examples of illumination and union.... They believe in a universal agent, which is nothing but an internal fire or general soul that operates among the elements through the three principles Mercury, Salt, and Sulphur; and claim to be able to confer renewed life to vegetables and animals alike, thus drawing upon the doctrine of Averroes and Theophrastus. Following Paracelsus, they have great knowledge in medecine, narcotics, and alexipharmaka; and through the observance of the stars, they know exactly when to harvest their medical herbs. Their religion is drawn exclusively from *Genesis*, from the Book of *Wisdom*, and the *Psalms* of David, but they approach them with a formal conception to create a semblance that these great personalities wrote only to justify their own belief. In this endeavour they are greatly assisted by their knowledge of the roots of the languages.[5]

The text was copied by the librarian Jacques Dupuy in 1641 from an original response to the events in 1623, when Rosicrucian leaflets were posted on the Pont Neuf in Paris. Emperor Maximilian's troops had by then taken full control of Würtemberg, and in France, Protestants in revolt had recently been slaughtered. That some "invisible" Protestant millenarians still could spread pamphlets in the capitol of France stirred much debate. Returning from the campaign of the Imperial army in Germany, the young engineer Descartes was even accused of being one of these invisibles. The Sorbonne had condemned Paracelsus' doctrines and Parisian intellectuals vigourously argued against the Paracelsian medical principles.

A year later, in 1624, a trial against Rosicrucian writings was conducted by Catholic authorities at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands. The members of the tribunal did not know about the events in Würtemberg, but they correctly saw that the Rosicrucian fiction stemmed from Arabic magic, from Hebrew wisdom, and from dangerously subversive Paracelsian themes.[6]

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[5] Original French document in Ms. Dupuy 550 at Bibliothèque National published in C. Adam and A. Tannery, *Oeuvres de Descartes*, Paris, 1910, vol. X, p. 199 and in Marion Leathers Kuntz, "The Rose-Croix of Jacques Dupuis (1586–1656)" *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, 1981:2, pp. 91–103. Dupuy's document is a copy of the anonymous *Recherches sur les Rose-Croix*.

[6] On the Leiden Rosicrucians of 1624, see trial documents collected by W. Meijer in *Historisch Tijdschrift*, 1917. Cf. n. 19 below.

Except perhaps in the novel on the enigmatic pendulum recently published by Umberto Eco, Naudé's observation on Roger Bacon, Postel, and the Rosicrucians has not been taken very seriously. The great specialist on French Christian Kabbalism Francois Secret, denies that Postel's ideas should be seen as a major influence on the Rosicrucian texts. But Dupuy's statement also refers to a Wisdom tradition reaching out from Adam, to Seth and Noah, to Moses and Solomon, a tradition that Postel had come to appreciate after reading several Latin translations of kabbalist texts. One is thus led to ask: Was Bureus' reliance in detail on kabbalist ideas from Postel perhaps his own original contribution to the Rosicrucian doctrine in 1616? Was it perhaps a reading of Bureus' Rosicrucian document that raised Naudé's suspicion in 1623? Or did these elements stem from wider international influences of an earlier date? Can Postel's controversial ideas explain those of the Rosicrucians? As Marion Leathers Kuntz points out, it was Postel, after all, who used a Latin equivalent of the word "rhodostauroticon"—"Rorispergius"—for a rosy dew promised to be dispensed or scattered among the needy.[7]

Cain Renatus and the Rosicrucian Lion

Like Agrippa and Paracelsus, Postel drew on oriental material to form a new syncretic theology of human restitution. After serving as lecturer in geometry at the Sorbonne in 1539–44, Postel went to Rome to join Ignatius of Loyola's new Order of Jesuits. A few years later, he was excluded from the order on the grounds that he no longer held ideas acceptable to the Church. Influenced by the Kabbalah, he had begun to reinterpret the Bible to set out a new system in which the feminine principle is assigned a salvationary role. He argued for four novel ideas: 1. Revelation through the ages has been doubled-lined; the masculine revelation of the Jews is completed by the feminine prophecies of the Sibyls. 2. Redemption operates through an intermediary, not a man, but a couple; each has been revealed in succession and it is now time for a female Messiah. 3. Man and woman are One in two persons, for God is an androgenous being. 4. To encompass and reflect the female principle, all legal,

[7] For Postel's role as "Rorispergius" and for his friendship with Oporin, Paracelsus' printer at Basel, see Marion L. Kuntz (1981), pp. 92 n. 7, 134, 174.

social, and religious symbolism must be structured according to the Quaternion rather than the Trinity.[8]

Postel believed he had already met the female Messiah in the form of a learned sister of Venice in 1547: Johanna, or Sor Zuana in Venetian. She served in a Hospital at the Church of St. John and St. Paul and was steeped in medieval prophecy. She disclosed to him that she saw herself as the "strong woman" prefigured by the female servant with two sons, who supplicated with King Solomo. Profoundly influenced by her view about a new dispensation and a future angelic Pope, Postel, at her premature death in 1551, took on a new identity. Postel began to call himself "Cain Renatus," the newborn son of the new Eve, Mother Johanna of Venice.[9]

Postel fled Paris for Austria in 1553 and offered his oriental manuscripts to Emperor Ferdinand and the Dukes of Bavaria. His Syriac Gospel was published in Vienna in 1555, after which he left for Venice. In 1561, he received a round sum of money for his services to the Viennese Emperor, which may have included the translation of Hebrew or Syriac documents. Only three years later, Postel was imprisoned in Paris on the grounds of heresy and madness. Postel's continuing affiliation to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem and his services to the houses of Habsburg, Medici, and Navarre probably saved him from being entirely marginalized or lost in the Catholic supression of Huguenots and other heretics in France.

Seeing himself as the mystical father, Postel now set down at length the idea of a universal concord, of a new world order of "unity in multiplicity" ruled by a temporal reformed Monarch and an angelic reformed Pope taking his seat in the Holy Land. Postel's life and experiences had indeed been singular. It was he who in 1538 went to the Orient and after one year returned with a translation of the *Sefer Jezira.* It was he who set down 72 quaternian rules for universal reform in his *Tabula Aeterna Ordinationis* (1578), where a European board of twelve representatives divided into three Pythagorean quaternions (a, b, c) d is suggested, so that three presidents can each guide

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[8] For these ideas and Postel's later influence among Saint-Simonians (Prospère Enfantine) in the 1830's, see Claude Gilbert Dubois, "Les Metamorphoses mystiques de la sexualité dans la pensée du Guillaume Postel" *Etudes Francais* 4:2 (1968), pp. 171–207.

[9] On "Cain Renatus", see Postel's very occult manuscript appended to the description of the two pillars in the Temple of Solomon, Ms. 3677, f. 34, Bibliothèque Nationale, quoted in M. L. Kuntz (1981), p. 146.

and control three lords from each region. And it was Postel who from his cloister cell in Saint-Martin-des-Champs in 1581 sent out Postellian students to fulfil his work. Finally, and showing the endurance of his medieval message, it was Postel's body that was moved from its monastic grave in Saint-Nicholas-des-Champs to the Pantheon by a band of anonymous monarchists in Paris at the time of the Napoleonic wars.[10]

Johannes Bureus' *FaMa* resonates fully with Postel's neo-Oriental ideas of reform and restitution. It is significant that in the calculation for the late *Lion Roar* (1644), Bureus speculates on the Hebrew "kaitz" of Genesis 6:13, "And God said to Noah: The *end* of all flesh is come before me", in the same manner as Postel did in 1573 in his pamphlet on the new star of 1572. The letter "Kuf" is said to mark the end of the period of the Law. "Tzade" is taken to represent the final end, "ändalykt et finem", also the numeral eighteen.[11] Like Postel, and before him the medieval millenarian Joachim di Fiore, Bureus believed in the coming of the third Elijah mentioned in the *Talmud* and its exposition of Daniel 12:7, the times, time, and half a time before the end. Or, as Postel wrote in 1573, "bis mille Tohu, bis mille Lex, bis mille Christus"; the time of Chaos (without the Law) until Noah (1656 B.C.), the time of the Law (until A.D. 1547), and the time of "CHRISTUS INTRA nos" (from A.D. 1565).

Postel warned that the end was near by invoking DILUVIUM, the Latin letters that add up to 1567, the year of the flood. Similarly, but even more obscurely, Bureus says that 1567 marks the beginning of the millenium, with Satan cast in chains as in Rev 20:2 and 14:8. Next, Bureus sees the "Kuf" as designating 1666 and the "tzade" as bringing us to the final year of Judgment, 1674, as in Revelations 14:14 & 1, and 20, respectively. This last biblical verse is all important to Bureus, who adds a dedication page to Queen Christina, entitled *Tabula Smaragdina Explicatio De triplico Regno.* After quoting Amos 3:7, "Surely the Lord God will do nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants," Bureus sets out his chronology, *Nuncius Olympicus Anno Christi 1600*, with a song: "TU, TU, here

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[10] On the *Tabula*, Ms. Sloane 574, f. 19 British Library. Cited in Claude Gilbert Dubois (1970), p. 167 n. 95.

[11] *Nordlandalejonsens rytande*, Uppsala 1644, p. 143. Bureus' thinking is here obscure; "tzade" is generally taken to denote the number 90. Is Postel perhaps thinking of the stars in Cassiopeia: kuf being a reference to the star Caph or Beta and tzade to Al Sadr (the breast), the supposed arabic root for Schader (Schedir) or Alpha?

we come, like a bird from the sky. TU, TU, we sing wisely, like a bird of Jesus Christ."[12]

Now, Bureus' knowledge of Postel clearly ante-dates his meeting with Joachim Morsius in 1624. While Postel's presence is felt in Bureus' *FaMa* of 1616, the first manuscript of the *Adulruna* is dated "anno crucis 1605." In a second part, some simple kabbalist (therafic) rules of replacement are given for manipulating statements, the example is "ex ungue Leone," probably to be taken as "from the part you can conceive the whole," from the Lion's paw, the Lion. Sten Lindroth dates the second part to 1639, at the earliest, mainly because Bureus then completed the manuscript *Pro assertione Veritatis Evangelicae Ex Unguibus Bestiae. In Confirmationem Fidelium Augustanae Confessionis.* But, as seen above, Bureus' therafic method was formulated in full clarity by 1624, and a German Rosicrucian tract *De Leone Rugiente* had already been published at Brandenburg in 1619. Even if we subtract Postel's role in preparing Bureus' favourite themes—the status of the Runes as a Japhetic language and the prophecy of the Lion of the North—the heretic Arabist's visions still loom large. For Postel argued that we must be restituted both in the head and in the heart; in Postel's own words, in both animus and anima, a view of the human psyche reminiscent of central aspects of the doctrine attributed to Rosicrucians.

Confessio Fraternitatis RC and Postel's Candelabri Typici

There is no clear Rosicrucian reference to Postellian chronology in the Tübingen *Fama*, neither in the *Confessio Fraternitatis R.C. Ad eruditos Europae*, a text that has prompted Martin Brecht to argue that it has some close similarities to the writings of Christoph Besold, Professor of Law at Tübingen.[13] There is direct evidence of a Rosicrucian millenarian scheme in the *Pandora Sextae aetatis, sive speculum*

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[12] *Ibid.*, "Smaragdina Tabulae explicatio" p. 2. The song followed on the verse "liuset är utslukit som förr var tänt" heard in a dream on 7 April 1600 by Bureus' cousin Laurentius Zerebryzintius. In F.a. 8, f. 370, Bureus permutates on "Tu, Tu vi komom her" and turns up "T Rumore V quida Cora, R rikta Mahumets H tuto hundas".

[13] Prompted by Brecht, Carlos Gilly argued in 1977 that language from Besold's lectures occur in the *Confessio*, a text with a different, more academic, style than the *Fama*. Recently both scholars have begun to doubt their previous claims. At the same time, Postel's and Roeslin's influence in Andreae's Tübingen remains unstudied.

gratiae (Nürnberg, 1617) produced by Theophilus Schweighardt, a pseudonym attributed to Besold's former colleague at Tübingen, Daniel Mögling, then at Constance. In 1615, a scholar outside the inner circle, Andreas Libavius, drew attention in a critical review to the use made in the *Confessio* of the lighting of the sixth candelabra, and of the text "Miranda sextae aetatis," as a sign of the Apocalypse.[14] Libavius knew how to interpret this sign, but did not agree with the view that recent heavenly phenomena had anything to do with present events. He scornfully warned, "Oh, ye Hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky, but can ye not discern the signs of the times?" (Matthew 16:2,3).

Libavius instead argued that much of the material in the *Confessio* had been provoked by one Egidio Albertinus, an anabaptist from Munich, who in 1604 had circulated a Joachimite manuscript, *Von der sonderbaren Geheimnüssen des Antichrists* in which the total scenario is prefigured. But Catholic scholars argue that Albertinus' text is a mere translation published at Monaco in 1604 of material found in a work by the Spanish Dominican Theodor Malvenda, *De Anticristo, libri IX* (Rome, 1604). The Spanish Catholic Malvenda warned of Hebrew influence in Christianity, saying that the original sign of antichrist was a chi-rho cross with an extra bar, as if crossed over. Libavius concluded that Rosicrucianism was founded on delusions drawn from diabolical practises and magic.[15]

As new suns had appeared in Serpentario and Cygnus, "Europe will bear this child," Libavius explained by allusion to the statement in the *Fama*: "Europe is with child and will bring forth a strong child, who will stand in need of a great Godfather's gift." Miranda of the *Confessio*, thus is a reference to "the woman great with child" mentioned in chapter twelve of Revelations.[16] Giving such direct access to this piece of Joachimite apocalypticism, Libavius' criticisms immediately stirred up more Rosicrucian pamphleteering.

The British alchemist and physician Robert Fludd now levelled a counterattack by arguing that the supernal signs do have effects in

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[14] Andreas Libavius, *Analysis Confessionis Fraternitatis de Rosea Cruce*, Frankfurt, 1615.

[15] See Sedir (1988), p. 53. Malvenda also wrote *De Paradiso voluptatis*, Rome, 1605, in which he refutes Postel's ideas on the location of Paradise in Nova Zembla.

[16] Andreas Libavius, *Wohlmeinendes bedencken der Fama und Confessio der Bruderschafft des Rosencreutzers*, Frankfurt, 1616, esp. p. 170. Yates (1986), pp. 244, 252–253. The Rosicrucian clue to Miranda may come from the Gnostic text *Kore Cosmou* translated into Latin in 1591, see Michael Srigley (1986), pp. 103ff.

the sublunary world. These effects could be studied through numerological considerations without invoking magic. In the future, however, the Rosicrucians must take better care to protect their insights.[17] Fludd then declared that the movement actually draws on two schools, one of "Aureae crucis fratres" dealing with the supercelestial world and one of "Roseae crucis fratres" dealing with the sublunary world; these two schools create divergent thesophical and alchemical traditions for the Golden and Rosy Cross. There is even a record stating that there should be a manuscript at Leipzig in the hand of Michael Maier, in which he claims that precisely such a two-tiered Hermetic society of the Golden and Rosy Cross was founded shortly after 1570. This society, if it ever did exist, is likely to have had to take a stand on the issue of how to react to the treacherous atrocities manifested in the Parisian St. Bartholomew massacres in 1572.[18]

Fludd's early career is intriguing in precisely this respect, for he seems to have embroiled himself with infested old Catholic powers. After studies of neo-Platonism, medicine, and music at St. John's College in Oxford, Fludd went abroad in 1601–02 and acted as a mathematics tutor to the Dukes of Guise and Mayenne, Francois and Charles de Lorraine in 1603. Fludd resumed contacts with French and Italian physicians in 1606, when he traveled to see some "doctors" in the circles of the influential Sieur Bourdalone, councellor to the House of Lorraine. Fludd's travels in France remain unstudied, although it is assumed that he there absorbed the continental versions of Hermeticism and Syncretic Christianity. In 1616, Fludd presented a Rosicrucian defense dedicated to his patron King James, in which he claims that the decline in the seven liberal arts could be reversed by renewing them with Mosaic wisdom.[19] A self-proclaimed "aurea crucis frater" soon emerged with a very important post-Rosicrucian tract, *Aureum Seculum Redivivum* (Frankfurt, 1622), written by the little known medical doctor to the Dukes of Würtemberg, Henricus Madathanus (Heinrich Münsicht). His tract contains an elaborate allegory on the life of Solomon and the seven sisters

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[17] Robert Fludd, *Apologia Compendiaria Fraternitatem de Rosea Cruce suspicionis & infamia maculis aspersam, veritatis quasi Fluctibus abluens et abstergens*, Basson; Leiden, 1616.

[18] No such Maier documents have as of yet been found at Leipzig, but then, in recent years almost no efforts have been made to locate them. One recalls that Béroalde de Verville and other Huguenot alchemists fled to Basel in 1572.

[19] Robert A. Seelinger and William Huffman, "Robert Fludd's Declaratio Brevis" *Ambix* 25 (1978), pp. 69–92.

(metals/planets). Madathanus' formulation of a restored golden age apparently had the virtue of cleansing all Protestant overtones from the Rosicrucian message. A second edition of Madathanus work was published in 1677 and found its way to both Amsterdam and Rome. Significantly, for the story told in this book, in 1674, a group of esoterics in Rome built a "porta magica" with insignia directly taken from Madathanus and from Morienus Romanus' dialogue with Rex Calid, to praise Christina, ex-Queen of Sweden.[20]

There are a few indications that a source of inspiration for the Tübingen Rosicrucians was Postel's esoteric commentary *Candelabri Typici in Mosis Tabernaculo* (Venice, 1548).[21] Here, Postel argues for the advent of an earthly kingdom and for a sanctified priesthood patterned on kabbalistic ideas from the *Zohar* and prefigured in the role of the Old Testament high priest Melchizedek. Because Postel saw primogeniture as God's ancient law (salient in the Salic Law of the Sicambrian Franks), he argues for the virtues of the Gallic people as direct descendants of Japheth's oldest son Gomer, signalled by the crown of lilies placed above the two pillars of the Temple (I Kings 7:6). Postel held that Noah had landed with his arc in Etruria, and that his monotheism had given rise to the Roman cult of Jupiter, surpassed only by the Christian culture of the Gauls. To ground his nationalist hypothesis, Postel draws attention to a Midrash on Psalm 62:16 and says that the second David and future Saviour is to be called Menachem ben Sushanah, a son of the Lily.[22]

While the Würtemberg Rosicrucians are likely to have been ambivalent towards the French monarchy as set out by Postel, they took heart when they saw Henry of Navarre resume his role as the leader of the alliance against Habsburg. The Tübingen enthusiasm, as shown in the *Confessio*, for a new apocalyptic and Paracelsian scenario ultimately transposed the Gallic imperialism into a new social fiction, the heralding of a blessed brotherhood, scattered, but united in mind and heart.

An important intermediary between Postel and the Paracelsians was the great encyclopedist at Basel, Theodore Zwinger, to whom

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[20] Cf. Åkerman (1991), pp. 274–275. The French doctor Jean Durietz, who worked in Stockholm court from 1642–1665, quotes "Minsicht" (Madhatanus) frequently in his book of medical recipes, now at Uppsala UB.

[21] A shorter Hebrew version on a broadsheet was entitled *Sa'ar ha-orah qodes* (Venice, 1548). Both are reprinted by Francois Secret, Nieeuwkoop, 1966.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 399, 395.

Postel wrote on the mystery of the *Zohar* (over forty letters in 1567–69) using the pseudonym "Rorispergius," and the closing "haec est Roris lucidi scintillae." Zwinger's *Theatrum humanae vitae* (Basel, 1587) may have been an important source for Bureus, for Zwinger draws both on neo-Gothic trends (including the history of Olaus Magnus) and on Postel's ideas about the geographic dispersion of tribes after Babel; he argues that the Gallic monarchy was reachable from a Germanic state. It is significant that Zwinger was editor for the publication of Postel's treatise on the new star of 1572, a publication that spread further through Tycho Brahe's response.

Another Postellian mediator was the Belgian Syriac specialist Andreas Masius, who worked as councellor to Heinrich Julius in the Duchy of Jülich-Cleve and who corresponded with Postel at the time of his messianic writings. In 1553, Postel himself offered an Arabic text to Ottheinrich, Duke Palatine of Neubourg.[23]

Obviously, the orientalist influences on the group of creative reformed theologians at Tübingen deserve further study. For example, Postel's ideas on a universal reformation in *De Orbis Concordia Terra* were quoted at length in a treatise on the religious sects of the Saracens published in Tübingen in 1619 by Christoph Besold. Besold shows a remarkable understanding of the Koranic concordance with biblical views, and even lauds the light of the Arabic philosophers Avicenna and Averroes. Postel's detailed ideas on a future harmony of revelations and a universal reform reached these parts of Würtemberg directly through his theosophic work *De nativitate mediatoris ultima* (Basel, 1547), a copy of which was in Besold's library.[24]

The fusion of Paracelsist eschatology with Postellian ideas depended on Postel's strictly fundamentalist "theo-graphy." Postel believed that the instauration of the new age would begin in Germany, but ultimately it would be under the governance of the King of France, "le Roy Gallique," the ruler of the Gauls. The French Postellians elaborated these imperial visions, among them Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie, author of *La Galliade* (1578), Vincent Cossard, editor of *Totius Galliae onus ex Joachimi abbatis selectum* (1587), Jean Boulèsse, and a few others.[25]

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[23] See Max Lossen, *Andreas Masius Briefwechslung mit seiner Freunde 1538–1573.* "Publikatione der Gesellschaft für Rhetorische Geschichtskunde, Band 2"; Leipzig, 1886.

[24] Christoph Besold, *Consideratio Legis et Sectae Saracenorum*, Tübingen, 1619. Documents on Besold's library are now in Stuttgart and will be published by Gizella Hoffman.

[25] Francois Secret, *L'Esotérisme de Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie* (Paris, 1967). Marion

The providential role of the northern peoples was described in Postel's *Cosmographia* (1547), where he promulgated new views on the Scandinavian descendants of Gomer's brother Askenaz, and showed that the lost location of Eden was Novaya Zemlya beneath the northern pole. This was in line with the role of Samothes, Japheth's fourth son, claimed as the founding father of the Gauls and their Druidic culture, worked out by Jean le Maire de Belge (1540) and by Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie (1578), with some echoes even in the clandestine manuscript *Heptaplomeres* (1593), circulated by the philosopher of State, Jean Bodin.

A similar pattern was worked out in British poetry on the "Celtic otherworld" of Albion, used as framework for John Dee's teachings on the Welsh knight Madoc and his alleged twelfth century travels to America. In 1617, the English Rosicrucian Robert Fludd used the pseudonym "de Fluctibus" to indicate his descent from the northern tribe "saved from the Flood," Postel's "Gallim," the "bath Gallim" of the *Zohar*, the "gaols" of the medieval prophets, i.e., those whose lives had remained unadulterated by much of history since the Flood.[26] These were the very people that the Hyperborean scholar at Uppsala, Olof Rudbeck, was to identify as the Scandinavian "Kalli of Kallegau."[27] Yet if the underlying theme of this Gallic lore is the forging of a new northern redeemer nation, our study of Johannes Bureus' Hyperborean manuscripts uncovers an extensive diffusion of both Jewish and Arabic wisdom within the northern Apocalypse.

L. Kuntz (1981:2), p. 92 n. 5. See also her *Guillaume Postel—Prophet of the Restitution of All Things. His Life and Thought*, Martinus Nijhoff; The Hague, 1981, pp. 60n, 161n, 235n. Kuntz falsely argues that Jean Boulèsse was either Jean Bodin, or Postel himself. Francois Secret shows that he was a Parisian Dominican, *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance* 1982, pp. 212–217.

[26] In Hebrew "gallim" means "waves". Claude Gilbert Dubois, *Celtes et Gaulois au XVI siècle . . . avec G. Postel: "De ce qui est premier pour reformer le monde"*, Paris, 1972, p. 154. A connection between Postel and the ideas of Bodin on the flow, "de fluctibus", of Gothic script has been suggested by Marion Kuntz. Cf. "the Delian swimmer" mentioned in Jean Bodin's *Heptaplomeres* in Kuntz' edition, *Colloquium of the Seven on the Secrets of the Sublime*, Princeton University Press, 1978, pp. 93–94. Cryptic script is reproduced in Andreae's *Chemical Wedding*, translated by old Atlas, the astronomer teacher of the Egyptian Hermes.

[27] On the Kalli, Galli, and Celts, see Olaus Rudbeck, *Atland eller Mannheim*, 1679–1701 in Lychnos Bibliotek; Uppsala, 1937, Vol. I, p. 524. Cf. Jean Picart, *De Prisca Celtopaedia*, Paris, 1556. Ulrich Obrecht, *De Philosophia Celtica*, Strassbourg, 1676.

A Few Observations on Francis Bacon's Scientific Writings

As the notorious Baconian scholar Wigston shows, Francis Bacon (1561–1626) also makes reference to the great conjunction of 1603/04 in the margin to his early pseudonymous text on scientific reform, *Valerio Terminus' Interpretation of Nature: with the annotations of Hermes Stella* (1603). Bacon employed the pseudonym in the title to convey the sense of an ending, while using a rather unexceptional German text on stellar influence written in 1597.[28] With phrases that seem oddly familiar, Bacon argues against those who have given contemplation an over-large scope by contending that we have to acknowledge that the thirst for knowledge is a want of nature and an instinct from God. He justifies this by pointing to the Hermetic doctrine that Moses is held to have had much knowledge:

> Salomon is said to have written a natural history of all that is green from cedar to the moss (which is but a rudiment between putrefaction and a herb) and also of all that liveth and moveth. And if the book of Job be turned over, it will be found much aspersion of Natural philosophy. Nay, the same Salomon the king affirmeth directly that *the glory of God is to conceal a thing, but the glory of a King is to find it out,* as if according to the innocent play of children the divine Majesty took delight to hide his works, to the end to have them found out; for in the naming the king he intendeth man taking such a condition of man as hath most excellency and greatest commandment of wits and means, alluding also to his own person, being truly one of those clearest burning lamps, wherof he himself speaketh in another place, when he saith, *the spirit of man is as the lamp of God, wherewith he searcheth all inwardness. . . .*[29]

The first underlined Solomonic phrase on God's glory in concealing a thing (Proverbs 25:2), is a phrase that Bacon repeats in all his writings on scientific method. It also just happens to be the concluding lines of Guillaume Postel's *Candelabri typici* (Venice, 1547). Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie set it as an epigraph on the first page of *La Galliade ou la revolution des arts et sciences* (Paris, 1578). Boderie

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[28] On Bacon, see Wigston (1891), pp. 335, 415, appendix. Cf. John M. Robertson, *The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon,* Routledge; London, 1905, pp. 182ff. Robertson feels that the jotting on the last leaf of the manuscript must be a mere date, a Friday in December 1603 when the text was completed by an anonymous scribe in Bacon's service.

[29] Italics are in the original. Francis Bacon, *Valerio Terminus Interpretation of Nature . . .*, Ch. i. In Robertson (1905), p. 187. Cf. the similarly worded preface to *The Great Instauration* (1620).

used arguments from Postel in setting out a theory of cultural effluence of arts and sciences from the west to the east and back again. First, the Gallic bards influenced the Hebrew psalms, then these influenced the Gregorian chants. The builders of the cathedrals in the west also employed an eastern treasure of sacred geometry drawn from the Pythagorean school. This cyclical return of artistic knowledge completed a first cultural revolution. Francis Bacon may well have read this important treatise during his peregrination to Paris and Poitiers in 1577–79. Bacon went with Sidney's embassy to Paris in 1582, at which time he formulated a criticism of natural science entitled *Temporis Partus Maximis* later translated as *The Masculine Birth of Time*, in which he accused scholastic philosophy of being so many masks of rhetoric for the stage. Furthermore, in a collection of cases for explaining the rise and fall in the expectation of life, *Historiae vitae*, Bacon cites Postel as a man who "in our time, lived nearly 120 years; the top of his moustache being still black, and not at all grey. He was a man of disordered brain and unsound mind, a great traveler and mathematician and somewhat tainted with heresy."[30] While these telling circumstances escaped Wigston, he showed that in the first book (V.11) of Francis Bacon's *The Proficiency and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Human* (1605), there are some suggestive remarks concerning a fruitful union of the rest and contemplation ruled by Saturn and the civil society and action governed by Jupiter. For, as Bacon writes, we will,

> dignify and exalt knowledge, if contemplation and action may be more nearly and straitly conjoined and united together than they have been; a conjunction like unto that of the highest planets, Saturn . . . <and Jupiter, and so> . . . to separate and reject vain speculations, and whatsoever is empty and void, and to preserve and augment whatsoever is solid and fruitful: that knowledge may not be as a courtesan, for pleasure and vanity only, nor as a bond-woman, to aquire and gain to her master's use; but as a spouse, for generation, fruit, and comfort.[31]

The union of contemplative and active thought are echoed also in themes presented in the Latin elegies offered at Bacon's funeral. These elegies were brought together as *Manes Verulamiani* by Bacon's chaplain William Rawley, the publisher of *Nova Atlantis*, and seem

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[30] Quoted by G. Rees, "Quantitative reasoning in Francis Bacon's Natural Philosophy" *Nouvelles de la Republique de Lettres*, 1985, pp. 38–39.

[31] Cf. Henry James's remark on Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1611), "the momentuous conjunction between his charged inspiration and his clarified experience."

to enshrine the views of a Hermetic-Platonic poetic society. Rawley's funeral verse was reprinted by Georg Cantor in an elegant, but ultimately speculative edition of 1896. Convinced that the elegies were esoteric loci for conveying crucial information on Bacon's character, Cantor supplicated the reader to see that they contained more than "nur dichterischen Hyperbeln."[32] In the thirtieth elegy by Henry Ockley of Trinity College, Cambridge, for example, a conjunction is used in a legal setting as an emblem for the passage of time:

> What? Has litigation sprung up among the Gods? Has aged Saturn, again aiming for supremacy, summoned into court his son and rival Jupiter? Having no proper advocate there, he leaves, the stars directing his course to earth, where he soon finds one suitable for his purpose, Bacon to be sure, whom with his reckless scythe Saturn admonishes to administer justice among the angels, and also between himself and his son. What? Do Gods really need Bacon's prudence; or, has Astraea left the Gods? It is so. She has gone and even she, abandoning the stars, sedulously ministred to our Bacon. Saturn spent not his time in happier ages, to which even the name of gold is given (in poetry), than we experienced when Bacon judged.[33]

One notices that the funeral of Queen Elisabeth (Astrea) was followed by the conjunction of 1603. Cantor made no particular comment here; instead, he focused on the last and longest poem in the collection, the thirty-second elegy by Thomas Randolph (1605–1634), a playwright and pupil of Ben Jonson. Randolph weaves a complex tapestry of Orphic-Pythagorean images with allusions to the flight of the Argonauts to capture the Golden Fleece. Of these lines, Cantor found the sixteenth and seventeenth distichi most interesting, and they remained the only evidence he ever gave for identifying Bacon with Shakespeare:

> Vidit ut hic artes nulla radice retentas,
> languere ut summo semina sparsa solo;
> Crescere Pegaseas docuit, velut hasta Quirini.
> Crevit, et exiguo tempore Laurus erat.[34]

Cantor translated these lines in approximately the following way: "As he saw, that the Pegasean arts (Pegasuskünste) did not spring

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[32] Georg Cantor, *Die Rawleysche Sammlung* . . ., Halle, 1897. This is a translation of Cantor's *Resurrectio Divi Quirini, Francisci Baconi, baronis de Verulam . . . cclxx annis post obitum ejus 9 aprilis anni 1626. Pro manuscripto (Auctore Georgio Cantor) Halis Saxonum, typis Orphanotrophei*; Halle, 1896.

[33] *Manes Verulamia*, Elegy no. 30.

[34] *Ibid.*, Elegy no. 32 (lines 16 and 17).

forth from firm roots, and thereafter scattered as seeds merely strewn on the surface of the ground, then he taught them to grow, just as once the spear of Quirinus grew and in short time rose <dastand> as a laureal tree." Cantor annotated the translation with Macrobius' *Saturnalia* (I, 9:16) and Ovid's *Fasti* (2.475), to show that the Sabine word "Quiris" means spear or lance. Quirinus thus emerges as a "Spear-swinger", or "Spear-shaker", as Cantor would have it; he draws upon the legend that in defiance of Jupiter, Romulus, the son of Quirinus, threw a spear to the Aventine that quickly grew into a laureal-tree.[35]

Cantor believed that Randolph praised Bacon in this way to hint that Bacon was the true author of Shakespeare's plays, but it is clear that Randolph's funeral verse can be given many other more plausible readings. The elegies after all describe Bacon's work as an improvement on earlier attempts to cultivate scientific reform. Naturally, Roger Bacon is mentioned as Francis' precursor in trying to join optics, physics, chemistry, and mathematics, and in the development of perspectival arts. The praise is interrupted by sorrowful injunctions about restoring the body laid in the tomb, "you do not die O Bacon for the *Great Instauration* will liberate you from death and darknesse and the grave." There is no particular reason, however, to dismiss the general thought that the verses hold some veiled poetic sense.[36]

Randolph's elegy presents Baconian science as a quest for new truths. One must be careful, however, when Randolph alludes to Bacon's *History of Henry VII*, the king who joined the houses of Lancaster and York,

> Dum sic naturae leges arcana que Regum,
> Tanquam a secretis esset utriusque, canat
> Dum canat Henricum, qui Rex idemque Sacerdos,
> Connubio stabili iunxit utrumque Rosam.[37]

That is, "While in this manner you sing of the secret laws of nature and kings, as if each were of secrets made, so also you sing of Henry, who as King and Priest, joined the roses into one enduring mar-

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[35] *Ibid.*, p. viii.

[36] One could even speculate that Quirini's "spear" is a reference to the star of 1572, the star that Kepler described as an intense radiance transforming into "a spearlike apparition" (species in hastam mutatur). See below Ch. 5, n. 14, of this book.

[37] *Manes Verulamia*, Elegy no. 32.

riage." These cryptic words are not Rosicrucian in particular, but instead echo another elegy, the eleventh by Thomas Powell, *De Connubio Rosarum*, that says, "The seventh Henry lies not in bronze and marble, but in your pages he lives. Unite the two roses Henry; Bacon gives a thousand; as so many words in his book, so many roses I ween."[38]

Wigston's and Cantor's evidence cannot demonstrate that Francis Bacon was a Rosicrucian, but it does indicate that there was a shared astro-political and millenarian understanding in the background of the Baconian instauration of methodological reform in natural science. As the French historian Gabriel Naudé argued in 1623, it would not even be entirely wrong to call this understanding Postellian, for Postel baptized his own program of mystical reform the Instauration of the new age.[39]

Recently, Julian Martin has argued brilliantly that Bacon's model for scientific reform was patterned exclusively on his experience in the courts of Law. The strict juridical procedures for the collection of cases, for bearing witness, for division of labour, and for the final centralized adjudication, all have counterparts in Bacon's scientific proposals. Baconian science thus emerges as a full scale bureaucratic endeavour, to which his utopian text *Nova Atlantis* (1624) stands as an imperial ideal.[40] In a perceptive commentary, Friedrich Niewöhner points out that Bacon's cross-ordorned guardian of Salomon's House spoke Hebrew, "and he would tell of how God had made him the ruler the *Seraphims*; and they would call him the Milken Way, and the Elijah of the Messiah; and many other high names. . . ." Bacon must have known that Maimonides says in his *Mishne Torah* that the Messiah dwells hidden in the Milky Way until the time for his return.[41]

The Baconian moment of messianic hermeticism was, however, soon transformed into a less extatic mentality. The British scientists abandoned the Baconian model in favour of another experimental model advanced by Christopher Wren and Robert Boyle. Baconianism

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[38] *Ibid.*, Elegy no. 11 (lines 34 and 35).

[39] Gabriel Naudé, *Instruction à la France sur la verité de l'histoire des Frères de la Roze-Croix* (1623), pp. 43, 46.

[40] Julian Martin, *Francis Bacon, the State, and the Reform of Natural Philosophy*, Cambridge University Press; Cambridge, 1992.

[41] I thank Friedrich Niewöhner of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel for this point, private communication 15 November, 1994.

instead gained a hearing in France, first with Nicolas Fabri de Pereisc and the brothers Dupuy, and then with the formal establishment of the *Academie Royale des Sciences* in 1666.[42]

The Baconian idea of a select elite positioned to effect a universal reformation can be compared to Guillaume Postel's personal view of the *Academie Francaise* as an "Haccademia," a sacred society envisioned in the Old Testament and as dear to France as the palace school of Alcuin in the times of Charlemagne. Postel pointed out that round-table discussions were a tradition brought from York by the Irish-born Alcuin. Alluding to the "Kodesh Haqadosim" of the *Zohar*, Postel consequently suggested that correct reference to the French Academy is made through the terms "Haqadémyah" or "Haccodemiah."[43]

Baltic Crossways: The Religious Orders in Livonia

In Sweden there was not as in Britain the possibility of an easy identification of the Rose Cross with the red rose of the Tudors; nor did the Lutheran crest of a white rose, cross, and heart, appear immediately attractive. The Swedish order of the day after 1598 was instead to justify a brutal war against Catholicism. Thus, it was rather the Catholics in Scandinavia who were forced to transmit their ideas "sub rosa," i.e., under silence and oath. But, from his mystical sessions Johannes Bureus knew that the heart of the Lutherans had to be stung through. The famed arrow of Abaris was meant to do precisely this. Bureus' "third way" of Hermetic and Adulrunic instruction was, as noted, taken even by Gustav Adolf himself to be so controversial in the summer of 1621 that he warned: "to pursue lies is to be on the road of evil." Possibly, Bureus was scared into silence and his Rosicrucianism remained on the level of an initiate doctrine.[44]

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[42] See Julian Martin (1992). As M. K. Schuchard points out Robert Moray used his masonic seal when he wrote to Christian Huyghens to have him influence the direction of the French Royal academy.

[43] Postel to La Primaudaye, the secretary of the French Academy, 1678: "Vous avez intitulé vostre oeuvre la Primauté, en la saincte langue de Adam Haccademie." Quoted in Francois Secret ed., *Postelliana*, Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance; Niewkoop, 1984, p. 113. See Francois Secret's note in *Bibliothèque de'Humanisme et Renaissance* (1959), p. 466. Cf. Jan Kvacala (1899), p. 40. Paul Arnold, *Histoire des Rosecroix*, 2nd ed. Paris, 1990, p. 234.

[44] The rose and heart of Luther appear in the manuscript version of Bureus'

It has recently been shown convincingly that by 1598, the Scottish mason William Schaw promulgated a new set of Old Charges for the secretive masonic guilds in Scotland to organize them into closed ranks and to associate them briefly with the view of Hermes as the divine architect of the first Temple in Jerusalem.[45] We know little of the corresponding Baltic guilds of the same period, but they are usually regarded to have remained purely economic in kind. From early on, however, Bureus took extraordinary interest in medieval fraternal traditions and collected material on various guilds, such as that of St. Peder in Eskilstuna in 1527 and the "själagille i Rafvund i Götaland;" he even took note of a lawbook from Kopparberg on the "gillestuga" of St. George. He also copied down a song, a "gille-visa," from Gotland.[46]

Bureus was familiar with the imagery of Temple mysticism, but he seems to have no contact with the early masonic lodges in Holland and Britain. Nevertheless, in his studies of northern antiquities, Bureus developed some curiously secretive emblematics. An explicit allusion to nature philosophy, his symbol and mark "gratiae veritas naturae," given as a sigel for Uppsala University in 1600, was not a very hidden message. One can even see it as a comment on Valentin Weigel's recent idea that lumen gratiae and lumen naturae are two separate powers, each with its own sphere of authority. The doctrine of two lights influenced Heinrich Khunrath and Johan Arndt, but was considered heretical by Lutherans.[47] In 1646, for example, the Weigelian terminology was used to condemn the Pansophist Fredrik Menius. Bureus ventured deeper into these dimensions, for example, in his thesis on the theraphim (appended to the notes of 1605, no later than in 1639). Bureus argued that the two pillars at the entrance of Solomon's Temple mentioned in Ezekiel 41:19–20, Jakin and Boaz, signify the keys to life and death: first thanatos, or the 1260 days of Revelations 11:3; then scheol, or the 1290 days of Daniel 12:11.

FaMa e sCanzIa reDUX, as edited by van Franckenberg, see also the illustration in J. W. Montgomery (1973) vol. I, p. 200. On the red cross knight and the Tudor rose, see Frances Yates (1986), pp. 47, 65–69.

[45] David Stevenson, *The Origins of the Freemasonry—Scotland's Century 1590–1710*, Cambridge University Press; Cambridge, 1989.

[46] Johannes Bureus, MS. F.a. 12. *Sumlen*, f. 483, 528, 780. On lawbook for the guild of St. George, 27 November 1625, see *Samlaren* (4) 1883, p. 95.

[47] For Weigel's important theology and influence on the *Confessio*, see Bernard Gorceix, *La Mystique de Valentin Weigel (1533–1588). Les Origines de la Theosophie Allemande* Phil diss.; Lille, 1972.

This was also the path to the lion cherubim at the gates of Paradise.[48]

These paired bundles of days are probably identical to the chronological clue set out by Bureus in 1625, as he promised to write a "Maschilim Jakinu" or a "Masrilim Jabinu," adding, "those who can read may consider." This would be the true signification of "the keys of David and Peter." These keys (of thanathos and scheol) are used also in the *FaMa* of 1616.

The two numerical keys are set to conform to the symbolism of the two pillars in Solomon's Temple. These pillars were to become a very active ingredient in Freemasonic circles who picked up on the Phoenician tradition of placing two pillars before the Temple to signify the foundation and strength of the monarchy. Even so, as the authors of the most recent studies of the early masonry in Scotland point out, the early Masons refrained from putting the names of the two pillars on paper, since they regarded them as part of the secret "mason word." In Britain, no mention of their names exists before the Stuart restoration in the 1660s. As David Stevenson points out, in the old charges written by Schaw there is only scant mention of the pillars of Hercules, without any legend being attached to them.[49]

In the sixteenth century, these pillars had frequently been used with the device "plus ultra" as an emblem for the world kingdom of Spain. They had some loose association with the science of cartography and Schaw probably used these imperial insignia as part of a local Scottish renaissance. Or, to be more precise, in Postel's pamphlet on the new star of 1572, Josephus is quoted as arguing that Adam's sons raised "two statues" to signify the invention of Astronomy. Accompanying King James on his Danish jaunt in 1592, Schaw could have learned of this from Tycho Brahe, who mentions Postel's argument in his 1593 treatise.[50]

By contrast to the elusive Masonic lodges in Scotland—their imaginary temples and their culturally interested kings—there was something more in the Baltic: the very real historical background of the idea of a spiritual knighthood. The legacy of the Teutonic knights did much to prepare Baltic sensibilities for the Rosicrucian furore. A widely used seventeenth century Livonian chronicle contains the

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[48] Ms. 331b, Uppsala UB.

[49] David Stevenson (1989), pp. 50, 133, 146ff. The Scottish Old Charges are held to date from the thirteenth century.

[50] On Postel's statues, see Tycho Brahe, *De Nova Stella 1572*, Uraniborg, 1593, pp. 716–720.

story of how the medieval knightly order *Fratres Militie Christi* had been administered from a certain chapel on a small island called Kircholm on the river Dwina (Dune) of Livonia.[51] The chapel had been built in 1158 when a ship from Bremen (or Lübeck) was driven by a tempest into the Gulf of Reval. Kircholm was the first foundation for the Order in Livonia, i.e., the first foundation for crusading, Christianity, and commerce. To the north, at Riga in 1170, a separate group, the Knights of the Short Sword, was formed by other German crusaders. The red short swords and the red star on their white cloaks signalled the real presence of the brother's Catholic beliefs.

In 1202, their Order was renamed the Knights of the Sword by Bishop Albrecht of Bremen. In a brutal crusade against the pagans in Livonia, King Waldemar II of Denmark became their Grand Master. And it was unfortunate that the pagan Livonians worshipped deities so suited to their world: Occopirnus, Antrimpus, and Gardentes, the Gods of Heaven, Seas, and Shipping. In successive waves launched from Lübeck and the isle of Gotland, the crusaders mercilessly slaughtered the Livonian pagans and forced the survivors to convert. In 1309, grandmaster Siegfried of Feuchtwangen sent message to the Pope that the Teutonic Order considered the subjugated Baltic lands as within their control. The knights developed an isolated life style of monastic prayer, feasting, and hunting, combined with more lofty ideals of individual allegiance to the order.[52]

By 1348, grandmaster Goswin d'Eck associated the Knights with the Prussian Order of St. Mary in Jerusalem (an order first heard of at Acre in the Holy Land in 1190). They cultivated the land in Livonia and non-Polish Lithuania, and formed small hospitals to administer medicine. But the knightly rule fostered a harsh feudal order, softened in their own eyes only by their self-appointed roles as "Kulturträgern." Sharp social distinctions were drawn to keep non-German speaking people out of the various guilds; secrets of trade were kept under special laws. The public sphere was structured as a mere extension of private relations; the fraternal community was based on an imaginary extension of the intimacy of

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[51] *A History of Liwonia* ca. 1650 reprinted in Johannes Scheffer, *A History of Lapland*, London, 1718, p. 386.

[52] The most detailed studies in the English language of these events are Walter Urban's *The Baltic Crusade*, followed by his books on the Prussian, Samogethian, and Livonian Crusades.

blood lineage and brotherhood, as understood by Plutharc, "The most considerable and precious property of an inheritance (patroon) is the friendship (philia) and the confidence (pistis) of a brother."[53] Brotherly confidence was shown to all consecrated members, but not to the disinherited "other"; germane to the locals was only paternal governance.

Through these precautions, the Knights of the Sword were to last as a separate branch of the Teutonic Order in Livonia until 1513, when their grand master, Walter of Plettenberg, merged them completely with the Prussian Teutonic Order seated at Marienburg. Standing as a memory to this tradition was the House in Riga of "die Schwartzenhäupter," in whose order of civil merchants the Swedish King Erik XIV was received some years before his breakdown in acute mental illness at Uppsala in 1567. It was this background of knightly orders and initiation, and the will to imbue it with a special reverence, that made the story of Christian Rosencreutz pass so swiftly along the Baltic route from Lübeck and Wolgast to Königsberg and Riga. The historical background of the Baltic crusades also led the low-born Johannes Bureus to use an etching of an ancient bearded king—"Cunnig Artus"—on march in full armour holding a knightly shield displaying three crowns. Artus was the same mythic figure as King Arthur, but for a Swede, the title also implies "keen artist," and Bureus saw him as a Gothic King.[54]

The Catholic church had a well-developed network to the north and northeast, that remained even long after that other romantic sect, the Knights of the Templars, was suppressed because of their excessive monetary power in France (in 1307). An intensified power struggle took place in 1511 when Fredrick of Brandenburg handed the Prussian grand mastership of the Teutonic Order over to the young Albrecht of Hohenzollern, who now in a surprise move secularised it, while ceding his lands to the Poles. Relieved of his duties, Fredrick of Brandenburg went on to support Martin Luther financially and during this epic struggle many German princes were put under papal ban. By 1551, Moriz of Saxony placed himself at the head of a secret conspiracy of Protestant princes, obtained the aid of Henry II of France, and set the terms of the Peace of Augsburg four years later, thus securing the Reformation.

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[53] Plutarch, *De fraterno amore* (463 e). Cf. David Kirby (1990), esp. pp. 49–73.
[54] Bureus' Ms. F.a.4. KB, Stockholm.

Plettenberg's Baltic branch of the Teutonic Order, on the other hand, remained loyal to Catholicism. The neutralisation of the Order's influence in Livonia under Johan III of Sweden was followed by a more lax reception of its influence under Sigismund Vasa of Poland. Consequently, the Jesuits of Dorpat could administer medicine there from 1583 to 1625, when they were driven out by the Swedes. An essential fragment of their world, their library, was shipped across the waters and a catalogue was drawn up for less eager readers on the Swedish Protestant mainland. However, as the catalogue shows, the Jesuits possessed no oriental texts at all, except the Bible.[55] If currents of oriental mysticism are to be found, one must, as did the brothers Dupuy, turn to other paths of mystical influence in northern Europe, to readings of the *Sefer Jezira* in Postel's translation, or perhaps, to the Weigelian text *Himmlisches Manna oder Engel-brot*, published at Kassel in 1606.[56]

Postel's ideas of mystical reform and restitution probably reached Scandinavia through adventurous individuals in Tycho Brahe's circles. Before his death in 1588, Zwinger had contact with Petrus Severinus, the Danish Paracelsist whose unpublished work ended in the hands of the Rosicrucian Anton Hoberweschel von Hobenfeldt. Another student of Severinus was the Norwegian Paracelsist, Kort Aslaksson (Conrad Aslacus Bergensis), a friend of Tycho's and in 1597 author of an astronomical treatise in which he used the concept "spiritus mundi" as derived by the Averroists. Wide international influences also reached Nils Mikkelsen, who in 1572 returned to Denmark after having studied Arabic and Paracelsist medicine in Cologne. Through Johannes Pratensis, a Paracelsist at Prague, Mikkelsen sought to become an assistant for Tycho Brahe's alchemical experiments at Uraniborg. These are only some of the paths along which Postel's instauration is likely to have moved.[57] In the next chapter, I consider a more firm link between Postel's Gallic prophecies and the Tübingen Rosicrucians, namely, the astronomer Helisaeus Roeslin.

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[55] Catalogue of the Jesuit library at Riga, Ms. U 271, Uppsala UB.

[56] Bernard Gorceix (1972) lists and discusses Weigel's writings in detail.

[57] Cf. Carlos Gilly, "Guillaume Postel et Bale" in Guy Trédaniel, ed. (1985), pp. 41–63. On Mikkelsen, see V. E. Thoren *The Lord of Uraniborg—the Life of Tycho Brahe*, Cambridge University Press; Cambridge, 1991, p. 54. On Aslakson, see Oscar Garstein, *Kort Aslakson*, Universitetsforlaget; Oslo, 1957.

CHAPTER FIVE

ROSICRUCIAN SCIENCE: ASTRONOMY, ROSES, AND OPTICAL DESIGN

> Now burn the White Lily until
> a Red Rose is produced at its
> base and these two conjugated
> will pass through all colours to
> the highest perfection.

The role and identity of Rosicrucian natural science have been much in debate. In a recent article in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion* (ed., Mircea Eliade, 1988), H. W. Fogarty describes this science as allowing the practitioner to move freely through the three distinct levels of nature: sublunary, celestial, and supercelestial. Agrippa calls them the elemental, celestial, and angelic spheres. The first includes botany, alchemy, and mechanics; the second encompasses the methods of astronomy; while the third, supercelestial, realm comprises astrology, angelic magic, prophecy, and divination. Authors of Rosicrucian texts held that the methods of these levels are akin and that a new mathematics able to capture their similarity was within sight.

With another emphasis, Frances Yates has argued that Hermeticism was central in forging a new scientific ideology that made central the craft of the practising artisan. The Hermetic view of the cosmos as full of operative spirits, and of matter as alive and active, inspired a number of Hermetic thinkers in the late Renaissance (e.g., Bruno, Dee, Maier, Fludd) to adopt the sun-centred universe of Copernicus. The view of the earth as set in active motion, present in many texts that followed upon Copernicus' new model of the cosmos, was appealed to as a Pythagorean doctrine. The operative powers invoked by the Hermetic magus in angelic and ceremonial magic engendered a new confidence in the human ability to intervene in natural processes. Yates saw structural similarities in the praxis of magical action and applied science. The angelic practises of the magus were based on a precisely defined spiritual technology, on his skill in using specific spells and marks to obtain predetermined ends, each action producing an in principle repeatable psy-

chological result. The high regard for the occult skills of the magus in European courts enhanced in turn a respect for the tacit knowledge of artisans in practical crafts.[1]

The implicit idea of the magus as sovereign over nature is examined in its various mythical manifestations in James Frazer's classic study *The Golden Bough.* Frazer sought to show that the magician's manipulation of the natural order is next of kin to the scientist's search for general rules with which one can turn natural phenomena to one's own advantage. Frazer argued that the approaches of both magic and science differ from the religious attitude, which is characterized by resignation in the process of finding the natural sequences governed by law and by a turning to a mere faith in Divine Providence. Where magic turns to false sequences of cause and effect, science tries to eliminate such sequences to reach uniform and invariable results. Yates saw a working out of this shift towards invariable patterns in the geometry of John Dee and in the Rosicrucian physics of Robert Fludd. Their new focus on practical knowledge tended to encourage a move away from the scholastic metaphysics of established science in favour of a more operative view of the individual scientist: the artisan thereby replaced the scholar.[2]

In an influential essay, however, Robert S. Westman has critizised Yates' focus on the role of the Hermetic magus. Instead, he reintroduces the purely mathematical problems that the new heliocentric model offered a first generation of readers. Westman claims that the Hermetic world view was not essential to the Copernican transformation, but was an ancillary interpretation perpetrated by some non-central scientists: Giordano Bruno and John Dee were mere Copernican ideologues; Maier and Fludd pseudo-scientists.[3]

While the angelic magician John Dee owned a copy of Copernicus' *De Revolutionibus* (1543) and wrote sun-centered neo-Pythagorean verses on its covers, the scientific refinement of Copernicus' system was, Westman argues, an internal mathematical achievement accomplished by Paul Wittich, a neglected Silesian mathematician working

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[1] See Frances Yates, "Bruno" in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Macmillan; New York, 1977.

[2] James Frazer, *The Golden Bough—a Study in Magic and Religion*, London, 1922, ch. IV.

[3] Robert S. Westman, "Magical Reform and Astronomical Reform: The Yates' Thesis Reconsidered" *Hermeticism and the Scientific Revolution*, Andrew Williams Clark Library; Los Angeles, 1977.

in Wittenberg. It was Wittich who demonstrated the equivalence of Copernicus' model to a semi-heliocentric model where the sun is set in motion around the earth, but with the seven planets circling around the sun, the model of epicycles later made famous by Tycho Brahe in a clash on priority with Reymarus Ursus. A brass model of the new planetary system was even cast in 1586 at the court of the Landgrave Wilhelm of Hesse-Kassel, where Paul Wittich was in residence shortly before his death in the same year. The court astronomer at Hesse, Christoph Rothman, probably told Tycho Brahe of the new methods.[4]

Nevertheless, Tycho Brahe's new model of the universe with planetary orbs intersecting in a celestial fluid has a clear relation to speculation among some important proto-Rosicrucian and Rosicrucian authors. Indeed, the central Rosicrucian idea of a world historical mutation can be shown to be much influenced by the heliocentric celestial sphere formed as early as in 1578 by the millenarian astronomer Helisaeus Roeslin. By contrasting the astronomical world of Paul Wittich with that of Roeslin, one can see that Westman's critique has only limited validity. To spread through the Universities, the calculus of Wittich had to be interpreted. The central astronomers Brahe, Kepler, and Ursus gave interpretations, and a fair amount of their activism was a reaction to the cause of the mystical millenarian Helisaeus Roeslin.

As will be seen, Tycho Brahe's lengthy work of ideological criticism, his expanded treatise on the new star of 1572, printed at Uraniborg in 1593, contains long critical sections in which he gives expositions of those authors who argued that the new star signifies the advent of Elijah, the last prophet before the coming of the Messiah. While Roeslin's apocalyptic calculations were published only in pirated editions, first in 1604 and then in 1612, he had distributed chronological manuscripts under the pseudonym "Lampertus Floridus" to a limited audience at an earlier date, even as early as 1588. The outburst of the Rosicrucian texts after 1614 show that this audience counted astronomy as a Hermetic science.

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[4] Owen Gingerich and Robert S. Westman, "The Wittich Connection—Conflict and Priority in Late Sixteenth-Century Cosmology", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 78, Part 7, 1988, esp. p. 63.

The Tychonic Debate: Pliny's Rose and Phosphoric Lights

In 1597, six years after Bureus started a comparative study of the Kabbalah and the Runic calendar logs, one of those aspirants staring most fervently towards the east, the astronomer Tycho Brahe, made a special petition. It was adressed to his close relative Erik Sparre, an advisor to Sigismund, the recently deposed Catholic King of Poland and Sweden. Tycho argued that his astronomical observatory on the Danish island Hven, Uraniborg, must be rebuilt. Presided over by the astronomical muse, Uraniborg had been a marvellous, but short-lived construction. The remarkable proportions and blue-painted roof of this magnificent center for research, set within a circle enclosed by two squares of surrounding garden-hedge and cut through by four paths in a cross reaching to each of the quarters, had all been savagely torn down by angry Danish peasants after Brahe left for Prague. Fearing their hatred, Brahe asked in his letter to Sparre that it be reconstructed within Sigismund's realm, on the appropriately located island Dalan (Dahlön, Doles) in the river Dwina just south of Riga in Livonia; or, if necessary, at Werden outside Danzig, or even closer to his distrusted countrymen, at Bornholm.[5]

Tycho Brahe's request to the Catholic Swedes that they let the Pegasus of Urania once again shine against the blackened northern skies was however set aside, for in 1598, Sigismund was defeated by Duke Carl at the battle of Stångebro. Two years later, in 1600, at Linköping, Erik Sparre and five other high noblemen were beheaded for high treason. Tycho decided to leave for new fortunes at Prague. Nevertheless, Tycho's high hopes for a cultural revival in the north, his prophecies concerning the new star of 1572 and the flagrant comet of 1577, spurred on other northern thinkers as they approached the new Tychonic cosmology.

Johannes Bureus took notes from Tycho Brahe and Reymarus Ursus in 1605, but the relevance of the new astronomical theories to his mysticism was first revealed by his publication of a new broadsheet for a "notarikon Sveorum" entitled *Haebrerorum philosophia antiquissima divina potentia sapientia et bonitatis revelatrix* (Stockholm, 1641). Bureus here presents a Copernican model of the universe with the proclamation "Ita est Copernici circuli, Scheineri & Galilei Macula,

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[5] Tycho Brahe to Erik Sparre, *Historisk Tidskrift*, 1886, pp. 250–53. Letter in Kungliga Vetenskapsakademin, Stockholm.

factus sunt ITA Burei Facula." (These are the circles of Copernicus; Scheiner's and Galileo's sunspots, done by Bureus' lightening torch.)[6]

The reference is to Father Scheiner, the Jesuit author of *Rosa Ursina* (Rome, 1626), who had opposed "the substantial transmutation of the Heavens" with the counterclaim that sunspots were merely accidental changes on the solar surface. Bureus thus was deep into the debate concerning Galileo's assimilation of comets to "illusory luminous phenomena similar to sunspots," i.e., as mere vapours reflecting solar light.[7] Describing space as a shining water everywhere filled with matter, Bureus asserted that "the center of gravity is in each and every material body." Hinting at the Rosicrucian doctrine, Bureus brought renewed attention to the crucial "stars of 1572 in Cassiopeia, 1602 in Cygneus & 1604 in Serpentario."

The intense attention given to sunspots, meteors, and new stars that a good portion of the Rosicrucian pamphlets reflect was generated by a fact that Rosicrucians kept hidden, but was now possible to reveal: The supernova of 1572 had formed a *cross* with the stars in Cassiopeia, a cross shining there brightly and remaining visible to everyone for more than sixteen consecutive months. First to seize upon this extraordinary fact was Guillaume Postel in his prophetic tract *De Nova Stella . . . judicium* (Basel, 1573), in which he draws attention to the enthroned woman of the celestial sign. She was the Ethiopian queen "Cush-peh", mythically remembered as Cassiopeia, the mother of Andromeda, the love object of Perseus. As Tycho Brahe later explained, Postel argued that some "Ethiopian books of ritual magic" could be used to show that the appearance of the new star behind Cassiopeia's throne was an event of world historical import. The star had pierced the Ethiopian constellation in order to show the "black" soul of the present: luxury, greed, covetousness, all were the marks of the Ethiopian Queen, but ultimately signified the arrogance of the Pope and those who used papal power to supress the human spirit. Postel pointed to a new astronomical reading of the Coptic book of Enoch, a mytho-prophetic tract annotated by

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[6] Broadsheet (1641), right-hand corner. *Runekänslan* (1598) is the place of origin of the Uppsala University sigillum, with its creation scene of grace, sun, and earth.

[7] For Scheiner and the comets, see Pietro Redondi, *Galileo Heretic*, Penguin Press; London, 1987, pp. 32, 234, 282. Cf. Håkan Sandblad, "Galileo i Sveriges lärda naturvetenskap" *Lychnos*, 1942, pp. 114–131. Swedish works mentioning Galileo include Martinus Ericus Gestrinus' *Urania* (1622) and Johannes Franck, *De Calore Solis* (1628).

Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century, the very copy owned later by John Dee, and used by him and Edward Kelley in their strange sessions of Angelic magic at Prague. Chapters 72–80 of the Ethiopian Enoch are the so called Astronomical chapters. The Ethiopian calendar draws upon a 532 day solar year, designed so as to make every 19th year a perfect match between the solar and lunar cycles.[8]

Postel's hints concerning the relevance of Enochian magic to astronomy and the debate he generated on substantial change and world historical mutation became a determining factor in millenarian reckoning. The debate influenced the idea of forming a group, the *cruce signati*, mentioned by the Würtemberg proto-Rosicrucian prophet Simon Studion as having emerged in 1586. While Tycho probably encountered Postel's oriental doctrines during his studies at Basel in 1569, the clearest evidence of Postel's profound influence on late sixteenth century predictive astronomy are the works of Helisaeus Roeslin. In 1578, Roeslin openly used Postel's millenarian scheme to interpret the significance of the new star and it was through Roeslin that the Würtemberg prophet Simon Studion learned of Postel. Some of Studion's prophetic language may even be Postellian; the subtitle to the *Naometria* carries the phrase, "clavem Davidis et per calamum similem virgae . . . intus et foris demonstrata—by the key of David and by the reed of the virgin . . . inwardly and outwardly demonstrated", a phrase partly borrowed from Eustachius Poyssel's recent Joachimite work *Der Schlüssel Davids, Esaia: 22. Apocalip: 3.* (n.p. 1594), but also having reference to Postel, who after encountering what he believed was the female Messiah in 1547, saw himself as "the reed of the Virgin."[9]

In 1583 at Strassburg, Roeslin published an attack on the Gregorian calendar reform, using his pseudonym Lampertus Floridus Plieninger, *Kurz Bedenckung von der Emendation des Jahrs.* Roeslin saw the calendar reform as a last attempt of Rome to confound believers by carrying through the change of the dating of Easter decided at the time of the Nicene Council. The Julian calender, identical to the

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[8] Postel's tract is published in C. Gemma, *De perigrina Stella . . . judicia* (Basel, 1573), Cf. Jean Céard's comment in Guy Trédaniel (1985), pp. 353ff. On Postel and Ethiopian magic, see Tycho Brahe, *De Nova Stella, anno 1572*, Uraniborg, 1593, p. 717. Rare copy with Kepler's notes, Kungliga Vetenskaps Akademin, Stockholm.

[9] On Roeslin, see Bruce Barnes (1988), pp. 113, 292. Cf. Marion Leathers Kuntz, "The Universal Monarchy" in Guy Trédaniel ed., *Guillaume Postel 1581–1981*, La Maisne; Paris, 1988, p. 243.

Ethiopic-Alexandrian calendar, would be substituted for a new calender based on more precise astronomical data. Roeslin regretted this and claimed that with this new Catholic attempt at deception "the last woe" of the Apocalypse had begun. Roeslin's arguments were reprinted by Kepler's teacher Michael Maestlin in the following year. Protestant astronomers decided not to abandon the Julian calendar since the Book of Revelations had been written with it in mind. The larger significance of the super nova of 1572 and its relation to Rosicrucianism emerges in another of Roeslin's books, the Copernican compendium, *De opere Dei Creationis sive de Mundo. Hypothesis* (Frankfurt, 1597). In the beginnings of the Reformation, Roeslin says, the absurdities contained in the doctrines by scholastic authorities had been exposed:

> This moved some in this latter age to plan a defection and to rise up against them: Nicolaus Copernicus against Ptolemy, Paracelsus against Galen and Aristotle, and then Petrus Ramus against the latter in the philosophical arts. They did so at the very same time as that many contentions arose in Europe in religion and sacred matters, and a certain Tchechelles revolted against the Mohammetan sect. This age of ours is indeed a marvel and pregnant with great things.[10]

Roeslin juxtaposes the Protestant break from Rome with the uprising of Tchechelles, or Shah Kuli, who led a revolt against the Ottomans in 1511 and proclaimed himself Mahdi and Ismail, the first Shah of Persia, a reincarnation of the Godhead. After having drawn this parallel between planned religious revolt and dissent in natural philosophy, Roeslin sets out a list of the important natural philosophers who have given themselves over to intense work on the super nova: Tycho Brahe, John Dee (London), Postel (Paris), Cornelius Gemma (Louvain), Christoph Rothman (Hesse-Kassel), Michael Maestlin (Tübingen), and Thadeus Hayek (Prague). The four geoheliocentric systems constructed in response to the work of Copernicus are then reproduced and their equivalence discussed. Roeslin's main concern is to develop a theory based on Paracelsian principles to underpin a new version of the metaphysics of Moses, with the idea of a fluid region of "watery fire and fiery water" in which the planets move. To signal the mystical import of the compendium, Roeslin

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[10] Quoted in Nicholas Jardine, *The Birth of History and the Philosophy of Science—Kepler's A Defence of Tycho against Ursus*, Cambridge University Press; Cambridge, 1984, p. 282.

puts a special design on the opening page, a "signaculum mundi Pythagoricum," a pattern related to the Sephiroth, but with an Ethiopic-Arabic background. Like Postel before him, Roeslin ties the new star to changes in the macrocosm and to historical events among the Ishmaelites, the seven-Imam sect of Shi'ite Islam who like Protestants are waiting for Apocalyptic fulfillment.

Then, significantly, a colleague from Hagenau, Leonard Doldius, hails Roeslin in verse:

> Long awaited and splendid opus of chronology.
> You deserve all esteem. You who delight in the
> name of the Rose. Lo, to your honour the Rose
> ascends for you.[11]

These allusive Rosean phrases are in fact explained by both Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler. In his treatise on the new star of 1604 in Serpentario (printed in Prague 1606), Kepler reports that to distinguish a particularly intense celestial flare from ordinary comets, Pliny, in *Historia Naturalia* 2:22, chose the term "rosa" for "an intense radiance, transforming into a spearlike apparition." Earlier, Tycho Brahe had made the same point in his rare lengthy treatise *De stella Nova, anno 1572* (Uraniborg, 1593). In this seven hundred page review of scientific reactions to the star, Tycho attacks a series of prophecies concerning the new star that some saw as identical to the "cometa Rosa" mentioned by Pliny and described by Hipparchos of Nicea, in 125 B.C.[12] To Pliny the Rose appeared as a form of celestial vapour with a particular glowing capacity, thus it was a comet, not a star. In Abu Ma'shar's medieval cometology, Rosa is singled out among ten cometary formations, described as having a reddish, almost human face, thus being a dying star, a super nova.[13] Medievalists in

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[11] Roeslin (1578), dedicatory preface: "Longus expectatum splendidum opus chronicum. Praemia digna feres. Rosae qui nomine gaudes: Sic tibi tui, surget honore Rosa."

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 768. "Attamen, quod is hanc inter eam Cometarum speciem, quam Rosas vocant, inde constituit, plurimum hallucinatur. Nullos enim habuit crines circumcirca emissos, nec eandem formam, quam veteres Cometis, quos Rosas apellant, attribuerunt. Kepler writes in the margin: "Cometa Rosa". Cf. "Jubas, recentiores apellavit rosas, species in hastam mutatur" p. 128 in Johannes Kepler, *De nova stella in pede Serpentario*, Prague, 1606. On Roeslin see pp. 200–201, 210.

[13] A French translation of Abu Ma'shar in Queen Christina's collection states ". . . et la sixte comete est appelé rosa pour la couleur rosie qu'elle a ey, elle est grande et ronde de meme de soleil et a la face comme d'un homme a couleur jaune semblable a couleurs d'or et d'argent mesles . . ." Ms. Reg. lat. 1330. f. 6. Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.

the Arabic tradition also associated Pliny's Rose with Avicenna's ideas on bodily fluids, to the idea that healthy human tissues are inundated with a fluid, called "ros" or dew, thus creating similar patterns for explaining celestial mutation consequent upon the emergence of the new star as in rare cases of human immutation (a sort of alchemical or theosophical experience).[14]

Paracelsians embraced this medical idea as can be seen in the first edition of Paracelsus' *Philosophia Magnae* (Köln, 1567) in which is displayed a portrait of the master with illustrations based on his prophecies of 1536. Paracelsus saw the philosopher's stone as the secret of all secrets, as the indestructable essence, as the spirit of God, as the water of life, the oil and honey of eternal healing. Consequently, in the left-hand corner of the portrait the head of a child leans forward over some books and there is a letter with the visible text "Rx Rosa." The Rx is the common abbreviation used at the head of recipies, taken to abbreviate "response." The child signifies the reborn, and the text is an oblique reference not only to silence, but almost certainly also to life-prolonging medicine and to Abu Ma'shar's Rosean comet.[15]

Then in 1572, Postel followed Cornelis Gemma in seeing the new star as a phosphorus, as a comet in mutation. However, Tycho Brahe rather doubted this explanation and within a year he brought a serious query to print:

> If really among those things that are called Roses (Rosae),
> there are a broad and wide circle
> that is almost glowing by itself, fiery and emitting
> strange and dark rays from its margins?[16]

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[14] Avicenna's use of rosa as "humor radicalis," a medical fluid for irrigating human tissue, is criticised in Francis Bacon's *Historiae Vitae*. Roger Bacon's writings on the water of life is a similar theme.

[15] Paracelsus' portrait is reproduced with comments in Karl R. H. Frick, *Die Erleuchteten—Gnostisch-Theosophische und alchemistisch-rosenkreuzerische Geheimgesellschaften bis zum Ende der 18. Jahrhunderts—ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte der Neuzeit*, Graz, 1973, pp. 121–122.

[16] "Si vero inter eas, quae Rosae dicuntur, ubi lata & ampla rotunditas, per se quidem fulgens, & ignea, a margine vero raros ac subobscuros diffundens radios." Tycho Brahe, *De Stella Nova*, Hafnia, 1573, p. 2. Cf. Thadeus Hayek, *Dialexis de nova et prius incognita stella*, Prague, 1575, p. 141. On Gemma, "Nisi solarem velis, quem Rosam observatores veteres nuncuparunt. Sed ubi humani facies. Ubi capilli? Ubi purpureus color? Ubi motus ille inaequalis. . . ." On Schedir, cf. V. E. Thoren (1991), p. 58.

No, the phenomenon lay further beyond, in the supralunar sphere. Tycho knew that what he saw was a new star, and he noticed that (instead of a cross) it made a perfect parallelogram with the three lights nearby; including Schedir, the brightest star in Cassiopeia. Critical of others, he reserved its astrological interpretation for himself, closing his tract with the cryptic statement that,

> I shall not now disclose what could be drawn out from *another* astrology, based upon truer and more secret sources. It is known only to very few, and because of ignorance it would appear to the many as far too provokative. In itself it is even such that it would be unjust to offer up (prostituere) its mysteries.[17]

Tycho's rhetorical device of secrecy did not prevent him from arguing that one can expect miraculous mutations (mirabiles mutationes) even in these times, particularly in the realm of religion and in the diplomatic relations between Emperors and Kings. Tycho also noted that there recently had emerged a new type of philosophy to the effect that the new star had been occluded from sight until our age. First after having matured into completion, the star had been brought within sight of mortals.

Tycho's tract, with its criticism of authors arguing that the new star heralded Elijah, did not put an end to the problem of how a new star can be produced at all. With three comets appearing in the winter of 1618, even Galileo was drawn to argue that comets are mere reflections of light, and that the nova of 1604 was also such an illusionary phenomenon. In 1620, on the other hand, the Rosicrucian Michael Maier suggested that while comets are produced by terrestrial fumes ascending to the celestial sphere, a new star may be a permanent attribute of the heavens, occluded from the sight of humans until God decided to unveil it. Maier connected God's voluntary exhibition of the star of 1572 with ideas of a gradual and discrete series of revelations worked out by the ninth century Sabéan mystics of Damar in Yemen. That revelation is continuously renewed in every age is the real foundation for the Rosicrucian belief in the historico-political significance of comets. The return of the star frees spirit from matter and inspired thinking begins.[18]

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[17] I am indebted to Rolf Lindborg for this translation given in his recent essay on Tycho Brahe and the new star.

[18] See Michael Maier, *Septimana Philosophica Qua Aenigmata Aureola de Omni Naturas Genere a Salomone Israelitarum sapientissimo Rege, et Arabiae reginae Saba, nec non Hyramo, Tyri Principe . . . rerum naturalium causae exponuntur et demonstrantur . . .*, Frankfurt, 1620.

As I have shown, Roeslin continued to argue that a Gallic catastrophe was at hand. In direct answer to the Roeslin/Kepler debate, a number of minor star gazers started to publish, for example, William Eo Neuheuser and Paul Nagel, who published on these themes even before adopting Rosicrucian pseudonyms. The first more open attack on Roeslin's fateful word IVDICIVM was delivered in 1608 by the astronomer Johan Feselius, who preferred another scenario modified by the comets. In 1610, Johannes Kepler intervened. He ridiculed Feselius and argued that the astronomers divine play with signs can reveal far deeper cosmological meanings. Against Roeslin's prediction of a catastrophe in France, Kepler predicted the direct opposite with a political pun, an anastrophe in England.[19]

The debate reemerged in Rosicrucian pamphlets, particularly after the description of the three successive comets in the winter of 1618 in Johan Faulhaber's *Fama siderea nova* (Ulm, 1618). Pamphlets such as that by the seemingly Catholic author S. Mundum Christophori F., *Rosae Crucis frater Thrasonico-Mendax—das ist verlogner rhumbsichtiger Rosencreutzbrüder* (1619) and the ironic text by Friedrich Grick, *Cometenbusserschütter am Parnassischen Buchdruckerei* (1619) were now printed. The Nürenberger Grick defended Faulhaber, but also posed a serious question to the hoard of cometographers, of whom he named Tycho Brahe, David Fabricius, Irenaeus Agnostus (Iulius Sperber), Aegidius Gutman, Peter Nagel, and Hisias sub Cruce (Zimpert Wehe of Danzig). Why do you have to wait so long for anything to happen?

Following the Arabic Sabéan tradition on celestial influence as set out by John Dee, Rosicrucians believed that celestial virtue is necessary for transmutation and that an alchemist must continuously observe stellar positions. Comets were seen to bring with them a liberation of spirit from matter. The debate on the nature of the new stars, therefore, and on the possible correspondences between the upper and lower realms, had a direct influence on the theory of signs. For example, in 1610, Johannes Bureus studied Cornelius Gemma's *De arte cyclognomica* (Antwerp, 1567) at the same time he was reading John Dee' neo-Pythagorean *Monas* (Antwerp, 1564). Dee quoted Postel's construction of the Hebrew alphabet out of a single Iod, while the grid for the compound patterns of Iod was presented by

[19] Johannes Kepler, *Tertius Interveniens*, Prague, 1610. These tracts are preserved in the Waller collection, Uppsala UB.

Postel as an appendix to the *Sefer Jezira* (Paris, 1552). The grid perfectly matched two connected half-circles, thus was similar to the Aries of Dee's Monas. Obsession with perfect form was an integral part of both the Joachimite and the neo-Pythagorean tradition, while semiotics and astronomy was taken as an ensemble by these thinkers. In the same section of these predominantly kabbalistic notes, Bureus attempts to incorporate the structure of the Sephiroth into his Runic scheme, and as a matter of course he copies down Helisaeus Roeslin's "signaculum mundi. Pythagoricum."[20]

Now, Dee and Postel actually met in Paris in 1551 while Dee was giving his lectures on Euclid there.[21] Dee could easily have raised the issue of Roger Bacon's optics, particularly since Postel's linguistic skills could be of help. Is it even possible that Postel knew the group to which Dee spoke in 1562 in Paris and to whom Dee presented a kabbalistic table on Hebrew chronology? Postel's reference to the astronomical relevance of Enochian ritual magic, of which Dee was a champion, might indicate this. We know that only a year later, an investigation was made into Postel's Gallic prophecies and heresy. He was declared insane and was sent as a heretic to prison in St. Martin-des-Champs. Dee, on the other hand, had gone first to Italy and then to Antwerp to publish his *Monas*.

John Dee was stirred up about the star, and had written on its lack of parallax in a treatise *De Stella admiranda, in Cassiopeae Asterismo* (London, 1573) in which he claimed that the new star had been sent down to the sphere of Venus then only to recede gradually back into deep space. It is not surprising that the condensed symbology of the neo-Pythagoreans is referred to by Tycho Brahe as well. In correspondence, Tycho Brahe and Christoph Rothman discuss a "hieroglyph" in connection with a set of verse on the seven planets and the seven metals. Tycho actually met the Imperial astronomer Cyprian Leowitz at Lauingen in 1565, just two years after the great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Cancer on which Leowitz based his very influential predictions.[22]

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[20] Bureus MS. N 24. f. 66, 56, 60, 62. Linköpings Stiftsbibliotek.

[21] See Peter French (1972), p. 51.

[22] See Francois Secret, "Tycho Brahe et l'alchimie" *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, 1975, pp. 512–516.

Theosophy and Sperber's Gnostic Rosicrucians

In an important year of diplomacy between Scotland and Denmark, 1589, Dee arranged a meeting with the alchemist Heinrich Khunrath at Bremen. Further plans were being hatched, and the meeting may have been the immediate cause of the display of the Monas sign in Khunrath's theosophical tract *Amphitheatrum Aethernae Sapientiae.* It rests in the bosom of the phoenix placed above the androgenous being found in one of the round images by Paulus van der Doort of Antwerp in the rare first edition of 1595. The Monas appears more visibly on the gate to Khunrath's spiritual fortress in a square image in the 1609 edition (a year after Dee's death), an edition that Eco takes to have been a sort of joke.[23] The spiritual fortress is furnished with twenty-one bastions, the seven times three so central in the Enochian magic practised by Kelley and Dee. A manuscript in colour now in Copenhagen, copied in 1602 from the rare first edition by the altar-painter Hans Friedrich Jung, enhances the Monas on the exotic bird. The Khunrath-Dee connection also explains why a Khunrath manuscript with the original round engravings together with alchemical notes from Norton, Ripley, and Ramon Lull, passed into the hands of Johan Banfi Hunnyades, the Hungarian alchemist residing in England.[24] Another interesting item is the so-called Ripley-scroll at the British Library dated 1588, in which is described the alchemical process of the Red and White Lion, with the anonymous inscription "This long roll was Drawne for me in Cullers at Lübeck in Germany."[25] The multiple relations among court astronomers and alchemists in the north became increasingly useful, especially after 1606, when Rudolph's imperial position was openly threatened by his brother Matthias of Austria. It was also in 1606, that King Christian IV of Denmark arrived in Edinburgh to make himself known to the court of James I.

What are we to make of these "proto-Rosicrucian" activities in the last half of the sixteenth entury in Prague, Basel, Würtemberg, Kassel, Scandinavia, and England/Scotland? Were they the very forces that

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[23] Cf. Umberto Eco, "L'enigme de Hanau 1609", Bailly; Paris, 1990.

[24] MS. 1765. Gaml. Kongl. Saml. Copenhagen Royal Library, Rylands Latin MS. 82, in John Rylands Library, Manchester. Cf. John H. Appleby, "Arthur Dee and John Banfi Hunnyades" *Ambix* (24) 1977, pp. 96–109.

[25] Add. MS. 5025, British Library, London. The English alchemist George Ripley is thought to have lived in 1220–1292.

crystallized into the Rosicrucian fiction? Was the Rose of Maier perhaps a reference to the Rosean comet mentioned in 1593 by Tycho Brahe? Would not Maier's Rose be interpreted as a significant portent in the wake of the reprinted prophecies of Paracelsus? Had it not been given added strength by being visible as a lifegiving fluid in Arabic medicine?

Indeed, an earlier tradition locates the establishing of something like a proto-Rosicrucian fellowship in the summer of 1597. For example, Julius Sperber in his *Echo* (Danzig, 1615), says that his preface to Aegidius Gutman's theosophic work *Offenbarung Göttliche Majestät* was written in 1597. Gutman's work is a thousand-page kabbalistic commentary on the first 24 chapters of Genesis; beginning with its first word, "Br'shyt." Gutman announces that God inspired one of his angels to move the writing hand of the prophet to produce the seventy apocryphal chapters of Ezra, in which is laid down a secret revelation to humanity. Peuckert maintains, through a reference to a note by Franckenberg, that Gutman knew Studion and the group *cruce signati* of 1586. Sperber was court doctor at Anhalt and published on Christian Kabbalah and Weigelianism and he may have had reasons to make Rosicrucianism appear as part of Anhaltian pre-turn-of-the-century politics. The *Offenbarung* did not appear in print until 1621 in Danzig, but has a dedication to Fredrick of Würtemberg and Moriz of Hesse dated 1615, and much of the language in it derives from the *Fama.* On the other hand, July, 1597, is also the date given to the second part of the alchemico-kabbalistic tract *Aperta Arca Arcani Artificiossimi* (Leipzig, 1617), although only in the reprint of 1658. The tract describes the processing of a salt, the White Lily, "until a Red Rose is produced at its base" and after which these two conjugated pass, as on a Peacock's tail, through all colours to the highest prefection.[26]

Some, including Paul Arnold, regard the clustering of 1597 dates as forgeries stemming from a mere wish to antedate the activities at Tübingen, and to connect the Rosicrucians to Heinrich Khunrath's magisterial work of theosophy that first appeared in print in 1595, but that was much enlarged by 1602. Sperber's claims, however, are

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[26] Queen Christina's Vatican collection contains a manuscript of the *Aperta Arca* (with preface to Fredrick) of an uncertain date. It is bound with (sic) John Dee, *De Lapidis Philosophorum*, Reg. Lat. 1344, the text on the Monas. A copy of the *Aperta Arca* at Uppsala attributes the second part, by the "small peasant," to Glassaus Chortalassaeus, i.e., Johan Grasshof of Stralsund.

not fictitious. Egidius Gutman is merely a slight Rosicrucian pseudonym and titles to sub-sections of his *Offenbarung* appears on a list of manuscripts belonging to the Augsburg Paracelsian Carl Widemann, with the author's proper name, Eucharius Guetterman. A Latin/German table of contents to this work was offered to Rudolph II in 1575, entitled *Manifestatio Divinae Maiestatis Descripta Capite Geneseos, Libri xxiv.* It is now preserved among Isaac Vossius' alchemical manuscripts at Leiden, bequethed to his trust in 1656 as a grant of favour from Christina of Sweden.[27] Even more significant, there is a manuscript of Sperbers' *Von Dreyerlei Seculis sampt Göttlicher Prophecey und Weiss sagung von der zunamenden Güldene das ist dritten und Letzten Zeit,* dated 9 April 1597.[28] This manuscript may well be a longer version of the introduction to Gutman's *Offenbarung* previously spoken of. Sperber produces a detailed interpretation of the three apocalyptic ages, of nature, grace, and glory. He strews his commentary with references to biblical places, and and he quotes St. Bernard, Joachim, Ambrose, Justin Martyr, Chrysostom, and Cyprian. He also refers to Nostradamus on "the Lion with sharp teeth" and to the Elijah spoken of in the Talmud and commented upon by Aben Ezra. The message is that the restitution of all things (Acts 3:20–21) is about to begin, effected by a new Paracelsian medicine and magic. Sperber shows no direct signs of knowing the manuscript of Paul Link referred to in previous chapters, but the two apocalypticists are similar in tone.

By 1597, several unresolved conflicts between the Protestants and the Catholics had built up. One effect was the dynastic war between Carl IX and Sigismund Wasa in the Baltic. Attempts at political instruction were seized upon; for example, in 1597, Bureus records that the German alchemist and playwright Jöran Eckhard had arrived in Stockholm to give a copy of the rare alchemical treatise *Aurora Consurgens* to Duke Carl, the future Swedish King.

Also, large groups of Huguenot exiles had developed a need to integrate the differences in which they found themselves cast. The 1597 dates are close to the date of the Huguenot alchemist Nicolas

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[27] Cf. Paul Sédir, *I segreti dei Rosacroce—storia e dottrina,* Italian ed. Dioscuri; Genova, 1988, pp. 46–47. On Widemann, Carlos Gilly, *Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1986).* Katalog einer Ausstellung in der Bibliotheca Philsophica Hermetica; Amsterdam 1986, p. 30. The table for the *Offenbarung* is no. F 37 in P. C. Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici,* Codices Manuscripti XVII, Leiden, 1975, pp. 103–104.

[28] Ms. 772. Helmst. ff. 173–287. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

Barnaud's gift to Maurice of Nassau on the occasion of a marriage proposal to Anna of Sweden, daughter of Johan III and sister of the Catholic pretender in Krakow, Sigismund Wasa. The gift was an alchemical treatise, the *Commentariolum in Aenigmatum quoddam epitaphium . . . ante multa saecula marmorea insculptum* (Amsterdam, 1598), containing "an alchemical mass" written by the Hungarian Nicholas Melchior.[29] One should recall that by 1584, Henry of Navarre had decided for an alliance with the Protestants and had started to approach the court of Hesse-Kassel, but that after the debacle in the Netherlands in 1586, France gradually withdrew these approaches. Barnaud and Quercetanus, however, continued to seek support here for the Huguenots in France. Although Barnaud trusted his gift to the Dutch as a diplomatic attempt to reconcile Catholics and Protestants, the marriage between the Swedish Poles and the Dutch never took place. Maurice of Nassau was instead to become the arch enemy of the Catholics.

Nicolas Barnaud remains an intriguing figure. At the beginning of the reign of Henry IV, he had written a sharply anti-clerical and Deistic treatise, *Trois Perles dans le Cabinet du Roy de France* (1584), published anonymously in Paris. Barnaud explains in his preface to the alchemical mass that as a French Huguenot exiled in Prague, he had come in contact with Edward Kelley and Thadeus Hayek, in the circle of the politicly ambitious and wealthy alchemist Wilhelm Ursino Wok à Rosis (Rozemberk). In this atmosphere, the idea grew on him that Europe would profit from a chemical marriage between the Protestant and the Catholic world.

In 1601, Barnaud anonymously published another tract, *Philosopho Galli Delphinatis, anonymi liber secreti totius mundanae gloriae*, in which he claims that he belongs to a French Hermetic society, a society that may have influenced the establishment of an alchemical group at Basel in 1591, including Quercetanus, Barnaud, and other Huguenot refugees. Barnaud announces a sudden transfer of his alchemical hopes. He now sees a continuance of the mission of Henry IV of France to found a new "ecclesia Christi," in the person of Prince Maurice of Nassau.[30]

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[29] I thank Ron Heisler for the point on the alchemical mass. The pamphlet itself is not Rosicrucian; the idea of a resurrection from the grave is traditional in alchemical symbolism. Béroalde de Verville knew of Barnaud, but dismissed his process of alchemy.

[30] On Henry's proposal in 1583–85, see Christoph von Rommeln, *Neuere Geschichte*

Remarks such as these, elusive as they seem, show that it is wise to follow the proposal of Richard van Dülmen to divide the proto-Rosicrucian phenomenon into an eastern (Prague) and a southern (Tübingen) branch, the first magical/alchemical, the second Lutheran revivalist in nature. After the work of Moran and Gilly, these two branches can be seen to have converged in a third political centre (Kassel), where alchemical treatises on Elias Artista were spread by "Fax Europae," the court of Landgrave Moriz.[31]

While J. V. Andreae was to branch off and increasingly develop the Lutheran pietist nature of the quest, there were other Hermeticists who tried to use the pamphleteering that followed upon 1614 to claim Rosicrucianism for themselves. Sperber's *Echo* (1615) shows that theosophists influenced by the political Paracelsism emanating from the courts of Hesse-Kassel and Anhalt were taking hold in many places.[32]

Sperber says that his hopes for a new esoteric college had again been raised after meeting one Peter Winzig of Bresslau. Appealing to the Church father Origen in his 1597 preface to Gutman, Sperber explains that Adam had known certain secrets handed down to Moses and Solomon and now preserved in the kabbalist tradition. Christ himself had stepped out of the Synagogue to found a new magical school with grades or stages of insight, and taught in the parables described by Mark. The message (the Sophia) lies buried in the writings of John and Paul, and remained in the hands of a handful of their disciples. Simultaneously, Sperber presented Christ as a magician, as an accomplished healer, in his Joachimite treatise *Von Dreyerlei Seculis* (in Ms. 1597).

After having read the "legibus societate" (in the *Fama* of 1614), Sperber now believed that the Rosicrucians must distinguish more clearly a college of disciples from a simple confederation or frater-

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von Hessen, Kassel, 1837, vol. 5, pp. 564–566. For more of Barnaud, cf. my "Johan Adler Salvius' Questions to Baruch De Castro on 'De Tribus Impostoribus'", in Richard H. Popkin, Silvia Berti, and Francois Charles-Daubert, *Hetrodoxy, Spinozism, and Free-Thought*, Kluwer; Dordrecht, 1993.

[31] Richard van Dülmen, *Die Utopie einer Christlichen Gesellschaft—Johannes Valentin Andreae (1586–1654)*, Frohmann-Holzbog; Stuttgart, 1978. Cf. R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World—a study in intellectual history*, Oxford University Press; Oxford, 1973. pp. 20, 205, 208, 213, 218, 230, 240.

[32] Julius Sperber, *Echo der von Gott hocherleuchteten Fraternität des löblichen Ordens Roseae Crucis: Das ist exemplarisches Beweyss, dass nicht alleyn dasjenige, was ist in der Fama und Confession der Fraternität Roseae Crucis ausgeboten, möglich und wahr sey, sondern schon für 19 und mehr Jahren solche magnalia Dei, ethlisches gottesgefürchteten Leuten mitgetheilet gewesen*, Danzig, 1615.

nity. He then gave a list of Christians who had rediscovered the ancient doctrine presented by Gutman; these are Agrippa, Reuchlin, Pico, Ficino, Tauler, Egidio Romano, the Minorite monks Petrus Galatinus and Francesco Georgio, the medical doctor (sic) Guillaume Postel, and the less known theologians Henric Harpius, Moecenius of Venice, and Conventius.[33] In this tradition of Christian kabbalists and mystical reformers, Postel finds a central place. Sperber qualifies him as a medical doctor, a title that Postel is not usually accorded. Only a handful of indications are that Postel practised alchemy, for example, when he found allusion to "the charcoal of Christ" in the Syriac Bible, or when he equated the Palmtree with Phoenix.[34] Through contacts at Basel with Zwinger, or through visitors to his prison in Paris, Postel may, however, have acquired status as a medical chemist. Sperber was in any case convinced that the older Gnostic-Hermetic school had found new followers among Rosicrucians, and he understood them as bright sparks from a greater flame.

Meanwhile, Andreae's teachers in astronomy at Tübingen, Wilhelm Schickard and his early Copernican students, Michael Maestlin and Johannes Kepler, saw to it that the astro-spiritual ideas of universal reform cultivated by Andreae, Christoph Besold, Wilhelm von der Wense, and Abraham Hölzel were to gain a firm theoretical base. In his treatise *Mysterium Cosmographicum* (Tübingen, 1596), Kepler studied records from Johannes Regiomontanus on the great conjunctions between Jupiter and Saturn and found how the conjunctions "occur successively eight zodiacical signs later, how they gradually pass from one trine to another," and, in particular, now generate conjunctions in the fiery trigon of Leo (1563, 1623), Aries (1583, 1643), and Sagittarius (1603), all dates significant in Rosicrucian calculations.

The astronomical debate intensified after the conjunction of 1603/04. In 1605, Kepler and Helisaeus Roeslin appeared together as commentators on the new star that appeared just above this conjunction. A year later, Kepler shifted grounds and wrote a thesis dedicated to Rudolph II, *De nova Stella visitatu in pede Serpentario* (Prague, 1606). Kepler agreed with Roeslin that there would be further wars of

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[33] In Sperber's preface entitled "Vom Wirkung und Frucht Göttlicher Weisheit" p. 10, signed "November 1615." According to Sédir (1988), p. 141 the last two on the list are Marc Antoni Moeceni and Stefan Cauentius. Egidio Romano is probably identical to the tenth century knight Morienus Romanus, famed for his dialogue with Rex Calid on the mutation of metals.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 11. Cf. Francois Secret "Alchimie, Palingenesie et Metempsychose chez Guillaume Postel", *Chrysopoeia*, 1989, pp. 3–60.

religion even after the truce of Duke Matthias and the Turks in Hungary, but he also smugly mocked Roeslin's prediction of a great catastrophe after 1604. Kepler instead warns briefly of the advent of a new union and sect in which both Turks and Christians will be admitted, a remark that could well be a reference to Postel's mystical tract *Panthenousia* (Venice, 1547) in which he argues for a future concordance between messianic religious groups whether Hebrew, Christian, or Ishmaelite. Kepler then quickly invokes the silence of Harpocrates and asserts that no punishment is severe enough for those who allow it to be breached.[35]

As all this evidence indicates, it was the comet in the (cross-shaped) Swan and the little nova in Serpentario (1603/4) that triggered the Rosicrucian movement in Tübingen. The deeper reason for this enthusiasm was that the nova of 1603/4 appeared in the sky a little above the great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Sagittarius, following upon a sequence of conjunctions in the fiery trigon so rare that in Arabo-Latin astronomy it was taken to mark the coming of the new age, a circumstance set out in detail by Robert Fludd in 1616. As Postel's tract on the new star of 1572 shows, there was a renewed interest in Roger Bacon's thirteenth century attempt at millenarian reform in the natural sciences; his *Opus Tertius* was read as an expansion upon Joachim di Fiore's Third Status. English Renaissance mathematicians, Thomas Harriot and John Dee, used Bacon's notes on parabolic mirrors and perspective glass, while Leonard Digges' *Pantometria* (1571), based on the same material, was dedicated to Sir Nicholas Bacon. Baconian optics held a powerful sway over the imagination since it drew parallells to Greek, Roman, Jewish, and Arabic magic. Roger Bacon's alleged notes on alchemy were published at Frankfurt in 1603, and the text *Verbum abbreviatum de Leone Viridi* on iron sulphate passed into the hands of the Rosicrucian Kenelm Digby.[36]

To sum up, Postel's ideas on the world historical mutation indicated by the new star in Cassiopeia was one reason for Tycho Brahe's

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[35] On Kepler's role in Tübingen, see *J. V. Andreae (1586–1654)—Leben, Werk und Wirkung einer Universalen Geistes*, Bernhard Langenbach Verlag; Bad Liebenzell, 1986.

[36] For a speculative, even amusing, study of Bacon's sightings of the comet of 1273 and of the possible use of microscopes by Bacon, Grosseteste, and Vitellio, see William Romane Newbold, *The Cipher of Roger Bacon*, University of Pennsylvania Press; Philadelphia, 1928. Kenelm Digby owned *Senioris Medicinae Magistri D. Rogeris Baconiis Angli de Arte Chimia*, Frankfurt, 1603, see p. 186.

probing into its cultural significance. The astronomical machination following upon Tycho's critical 1593 exposition of authors who argued that the new star heralded Elijah the prophet was to become a dominant cultural factor for the Tübingen millenarians.

Observations on the nova in 1572 had shown that the immutability of the celestial spheres assumed in Aristotelian cosmogony was an illusion. Sperber even claims in his *Echo* that the debate initiated by Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler would take a thousand years to settle. Sperber was aware of the very delicate situation in which the equivalent proposals were made in Tychonic and semi-Tychonic systems; the debate was part of the millenium.[37] Postel and Gemma saw in the new star a celestial immutation that would have further influence through an outpouring of grace and a future union of religions. In this atmosphere of astro-political expectation, the Rosicrucian *Confessio* was written. We know that the text was influenced by Christoph Besold, who knew the work of Roeslin and Postel. Celestial signs were taken to be crucial for marking the new era, and the appearance of the two comets in the *Confessio* (Kassel, 1614), and then again on the famous image of the *Speculum sophicum rhodo-stauroticon* (Frankfurt, 1618) by Theophil Schweighardt (Daniel Mögling), shows that the Roeslin/Kepler discussion of astronomical phenomena was central to the Rosicrucians.[38]

This may even be the deeper reason for why Galileo's *Sidereus nuncius* (1610) produced such a widespread shock. If there were more than eighty stars visible in Orion through even the simplest telescope, the accuracy of prediction by celestial signification would diminish to nil. Given this evidence, it seems clear that along with the *cruce signati*, a fair number of centrally located astronomers knew that the new star in Cassiopeia was the first glowing occurrence of the Rosy Cross.

Cosmic Geometry: J. V. Andreae and the Brothers Natt och Dag

The transmissions of ideas through pamphlets and books may not reveal personal contacts between Rosicrucian writers, but a copy of

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[37] Sperber, *Echo* (1615), pp. 36–38. The slow intellectual move "from solid orbs to the intersection of orbs" is studied by Christine Jones Schofield, *Tychonic and Semi-Tychonic World Systems*, Arno Press; New York, 1981.

[38] Reproduced in Frances Yates (1986) titlepage.

another work by J. V. Andreae himself, that also found its way to Sweden, does reveal a direct contact between Tübingen and the western shores of the Baltic. In this very rare and much neglected piece of writing of 1614, Johannes Valentin Andreae sets out to sum up the mathematical training in Tübingen, thus to form the axiomatic work *Collectaneorum Mathematicorum decades XI—centum et decem tabulis Aeneis exhibitae.* Through discussions with his Austrian friend Abraham Hölzel, and through travels to Italy and France, J. V. Andreae produces an illustrated scientific manual in which he provides digests of the ideas of experts in each field. It is addressed to practitioners in mathematics, fortification, architecture, navigation, mechanics, and agriculture.[39]

Andreae starts the compendium by giving axioms for Euclidean geometry, and he sets out in detail a full arithmetic with cossic equations. By elementary constructions, Andreae explains the laws of optics, including the geometric design of a pyramid from one point and a cross from two. He illustrates the heliocentric and geo-heliocentric world systems developed in turn by Copernicus, Helisaeus Roeslin, Tycho Brahe, and Reymarus Ursus. He displays a variety of methods of architecture: a vaulted passage, a flight of stairs, an archway (double colonnade), and a monastery modelled on that of Nüremberg. The ground plan of Tycho Brahe's observatory Uraniborg is presented as an ideal design for a centre of astronomic and spagyric research. Andreae further displays the elements of mechanics, of clocks and mapdesign, and the geometry of five-pointed fortifications and bastions. Finally, he sets out Albrecht Dürer's perspectival art.[40]

In effect, the contents shed much light on the Rosicrucian pamphlet *Jhesus Nobis Omnia—Rosa Florescens* (Frankfurt 1617), a rhetorical reply to Menapius and pseudonymously attributed to the Minorite monk Florentinus de Valentia, but probably written by Daniel Mögling.[41] Frances Yates believed it was inspired by John Dee's Vitruvian defence of the mathematical arts. She had earlier shown that the new edition of the ten classical books on architecture by Marcus Vitruvius

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[39] Preface to *Collect. mathem.*, signed I. V. A.

[40] *Collect. mathem.* fig. 11, 32, 36, 76.

[41] Karl Widemann identifies Valentia with Daniel Mögling, see Carlos Gilly (1986), p. 51. One is reminded of J. V.'s text on his grandfather, designer of the formula of Concord, *Fama Andreana Reflorescens*, Strassbourg, 1630, republished with his tribute to Gustav Adolf, *Gallicinium: Entlarvter Apap* (1633), by Carl Theodor Pabst at Leipzig in 1827.

Pollio had a massive influence in Europe as it contributed to renew the ideology of artisans and engineers. Since she had recourse only to the very brief enumeration of the sciences in the *Rosa Florescens*, she gives the impression that Vitruvian methods supported a practical application of mathematics, set forth at most dimly by some original Rosicrucians. Or as Florentinus de Valentia clamours against Menapius in the pamphlet:

> What is there in Arithmetic? Is there not in Algebra still much hidden? Who knows in this moment how to count the Pythagorean way unto the knowledge of God? Who knows the right Usus Rhytmomachia? Who knows the use and composition of the Pythagorean rota, of which so many sophistical deceptions many books have been written?. In Geometry: is not the quadraturi circuli, sive proportio recti ad curvuum, divisio anguli, in impares & quae sunt alia complura, on which many hundreds have tried their wit, and also often vainly have boasted, still unknown?. You may be as learned and experienced as you wish, but remember that the greater part of your uncertainty is only the least of the still hidden.

Where Frances Yates only saw through a glass darkly, we can now see face to face. Andreae's less mysterious *Collectaneorum* of 1614 shows in full the Vitruvian world of architectural methods and contains examples of the Pythagorean abacus, the astrolabium, and the Dukal Rotae, a predictive wheel of memory with planetary positions for each month.[42]

In his manual, Andreae displays pictorially the mechanical sciences in their totality, and by ordering them he strives to emphasize the great cultural value of artisans and craftsmen. His crowning achievement is the torturous construction of a helix. Only two images deviate from the classicism of Andreae's scheme: a centrally located table displaying a human face, and a hand to show how to divinate the palm or the brow. Beneath is Andreae's own horoscope, dated "6.30 am 16 August, 1586." Apparently the fragment on divination (on which Andreae also wrote a commentary now deposited in the library of Duke August of Wolfenbüttel) had been suggested by the theologian Matthias Haffenreffer; it reveals an Hermetic view of human beings as microcosmic representations of the greater world.

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[42] *Rosa Florescens*, pp. 34ff. Yates (1986), p. 97. Rhytmo-machia is a complex game similar to chess said to be invented by Pythagoras. It uses the proportions of the harmonic series on a field of 8 × 16 squares. The rules are derived from Fransisci Barozzi in an appendix to *Der Schach- oder König-spiel*, Leipzig, 1616, by Gustav Selenus (alias Duke August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel).

The last image is quite an insoluble labyrinth, inscribed "Vita nostra Error."[43]

This rare and elegant compendium was dedicated to a *decade* of Andreae's friends, including Wilhelm Wense. The first of these were Åke Axel and Thure Axel Natt och Dag from Göxholm in Sweden. They had been sent by Axel Oxenstierna on a peregrination in Germany under the supervision of an expert in fortification, Peter Falk, also in Andreae's "decade."[44] At Tübingen, under the direction of Christoph Besold, each brother defended a thesis on the relation between church and state. The main texts were written by Besold. Thure Axel solemny dedicated his piece to Axel Oxenstierna. Treating of the relations between law and religion, he includes an interesting review of the challenge brought to Orthodoxy by deviant views, such as magic, sorcery, or anabaptism. Thure Axel made brief reference to what he had learned in lectures on astronomy.[45]

The younger brother, Åke Axel, defended a thesis on Jean Bodin's doctrine of royal succession, to the effect that a male successor always, as far as memory goes, has been preferred to a female, i.e., if she does not happen to be the only child. Åke Axel's teacher Besold argued that this preference was essential, as it was especially relevant to the volatile situation at the Protestant court of Würtemberg.[46] The oration was dedicated to the new Swedish King, Gustav Adolf. Because of Gustav Adolf's fate as a father of an only child, a daughter, the text seems to have been carefully read during later times; several passages of the copy now at Uppsala are marked in ink. In response to Besold's ideas, Falk published an oration, *De status casu regni Suetia* (Tübingen, 1614).[47] In their disputations, the three Swedes thus happened to meet with the two main Rosicrucian figures.

The fatherless brothers Natt och Dag had grown up in the household of Axel Oxenstierna and the reason for their inclusion in

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[43] *Collect. mathem.* fig. 63, 111. I have profited from a discussion of this print with Edward Thompson of the Economics Department at the University of Dundee.

[44] For the military decade, cf. Andreae's drawing of the formation on a battlefield, f. 77. Note that according to the Egyptian calendar, a year was divided into thirty-six decades (units of ten). Andreae may have played with the thought of being one of the thirty-six elders to govern the Rosicrucian reformation. Cf. Umberto Eco, *Foucault's Pendulum*, Milan, 1988, ch. 72 and 4.

[45] *Theologico-Politicam diss. De ecclesiastico majestatis jure*, Tübingen, 1614.

[46] *Juridico-Politicam diss. De regia successione*, Tübingen, 1614, in Palmsköld 435, Uppsala UB.

[47] *Svensk Biografisk Uppslagsbok*, "Falk, Peter."

Andreae's prominent group of dedicatees may have been their possible roles as future Swedish dignitaries. Both brothers were successful in diplomacy. Falk's oration on the Swedish empire was published in a thick volume on European statecraft at Heidelberg in 1617.

Together with Falk, Thure Axel (1595–1626) left Tübingen for Leiden in 1616 and went from there to Paris in 1617 to 1619. In 1620, Falk was in Amsterdam. From there he went to London to seek "medical aid" in the company of Jacob Hunterus, one of the students who sat in on Bureus' lectures at Uppsala. Hunterus stayed on in England and converted to Catholicism.

Åke Axel (1594–1655) ended his days as county deputy in Uppsala after having acted as diplomat to the Poles in 1634. In 1647, he brought the failed marriage proposal from Fredrik Wilhelm of Brandenburg to the Swedish Queen. Two other Swedes, Israel Bringius and Jacob Hansson Ulphinus, were sent by the playwright and theologian Johannes Messenius to study theology at Tübingen in 1614. Bringius' dissertation *De uno transcendentali* includes a poem by Joachim de Wiquefort, the later Saxon diplomat at Amsterdam and participant in Andreae's Unio Christiana.[48]

Andreae's *Collectaneorum* (1614) is truly a significant key to Andreae's utopian design *Christianopolis* (1618). Recent advances in mathematical theory and applied techniques had raised hopes for the future. It was also one of the mathematical "decade," Willhelm Wense, a nobleman skilled in fortification and mechanics, who first encouraged Andreae to promulgate his utopia among the merchants of Nüremberg. The mathematical classes in Tübingen may also have been the occasion for Andreae's display of a twelve-pointed fortress, later described as an "ideal fortification invented by a German" in Robert Fludd's volume, *The Macrocosmic History of Mechanics* (Frankfurt, 1618), as the second part of the first half of the illustrated series *Utriusque Cosmi Historia*, a discussion of the origin and structure of the cosmos.[49]

Andreae had earlier used some of his skill in drawing for his edition of Matthias Haffenreffer's *Templum Ezechielis* (Tübingen, 1611),

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[48] *SBU*, "Natt och Dag, Åke Axel", Christian Callmer, "Svenska studenter i Tübingen under tre århundraden" *Lychnos*, 1663–64, pp. 119–156, esp. pp. 128–129.

[49] The fortification is identical to that designed in Italy by Scamozzi, which Andreae might have heard of on his travels. On Wense, see Paul Arnold (1989), pp. 231ff.

and in his chapter on astronomy in the *Collectaneorum*, Andreae specifically gives thanks to Haffenreffer. It was from Haffenreffer that Andreae received his degree as doctor of theology in 1614.[50] It is probable that Andreae's outline of the image of the Tabernacle was taken from the massive treatise by the Jesuits Pradi and Villalpando on the visions of Ezekiel, chapter 40:3 (Rome, 1595, 2nd vol., 1605); itself meant to concord with measurements on the groundplan for Escorial, the newly built royal seat in Spain. The design of the Tabernacle is also strangely similar to the image *Hortus Absconsi* copied down in 1611 by the Swedish Rosicrucian Johannes Bureus for his comparative measurements of the old nordic temple in Uppsala. Little is known of the contacts between Tübingen and Uppsala before 1614 (although Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna journeyed through there in 1603 and listened to orations offered by Haffenreffer and Crusius), but the *type* of speculations set forth by Studion and other Joachimite millenarians in Würtemberg made its presence felt also here in the far north.[51]

The nexus between the new models in astronomy and the energy put into biblical calculation is crucially shown in the *Naometria*, written in 1592 as a result of the research done by that elusive group of millenarians, the *cruce signati*. Studions' construction of the heavenly wheel perfectly matches Roeslin's "astrosphere," and both together bring us closer to the activity at Tübingen concerning biblical chronology, computation, and comets. The integration of the results in cometography by Michael Maestlin and Johannes Kepler, and the simultaneous translations—by Besold, Adami, Wense, and Hess—of Campanella's political writings on a temporal and ecclesiastical reform, all point to Tübingen as an enduring millenarian centre. The combination of strict Hebraic readings and cosmological theory was not unusual in the Tübingen coursework. Wilhelm Schickard studied Hebrew Kabbalism and was familiar with the millenarian idea of envisioning the Temple as rebuilt. It has been pointed out that although there is a brief chart of world chronology in Andreae's *Collectaneorum*, it displays only six pillars (ages), the millenial seventh pillar is missing. A sceptic such as Montgomery argues that if Andreae

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[50] Bad Libenzell Catalogue, *Op. cit.*

[51] J. Pradi and J. B. Villalpando, *Ezechielis Propheta Visione*, Rome, 1596 (2nd vol., 1605). Being the most perfect of buildings, the Temple-structure is given Vitruvian dimensions. Bureus, Linköping Ms. N 24, f. 131, reproduced in Johan Nordström (Uppsala, 1934).

had accepted Studion's "Rosicrucian" calculation, then a seventh pillar would have been placed in the time interval around 1604. He believes that its absence tends to confirm the view that Andreae's *Christianopolis* was launched as a Lutheran society in conscious *opposition* to the Rosicrucians. A missing pillar thus would carry a significant message.

The Dream of Descartes: Algebra and Polyhedra

Do Rosicrucian scientific ideas show that magico-religious thinking was a culturally necessary prelude to the spreading of the rational methods of science? Was the intense Rosicrucian expectation for a new age of science the reason why the mathematical aspect of the Rosicrucian credo figures in a small book of notes of René Descartes, the supreme rationalist philosopher? These notes were written during his interlude as a young engineer in the army of Maximilian of Bavaria at winter residence at Ulm, and are called *Kalendiis Januarii 1619.*[52] Some of these contain mathematical notes and ideas dealing with Olympian matters, usually a phrase reserved for angelic magic. Before reporting on his "invention of a wonderful science" that winter (his algebraic analysis), Descartes explains that he had discussed mathematical ideas with Johan Faulhaber (1580–1635), a keen participator in the Rosicrucian publication stream, author of *Neuer mathematischer Kunstspiegel* (Ulm, 1612) and *Andeutung einer unerhörten neuer Wunderkunst* (Ulm, 1613). When Descartes met him, Faulhaber had published ideas on the three comets of 1618 in his Rosicrucian statement *Fama Siderea Nova* (Ulm, 1618). Descartes says that he studied Faulhaber's "table resembling the German Cabala," in which Faulhaber treats of "corporeal numbers," i.e., polygonal and pyramidal numbers constructed by arithmetical series. In his *Numerus figuratus; sive, Arithmetica analytica arte mirabili inaudita nova constans* (Ulm, 1614), Faulhaber strove to find arithmetical series that produce special numbers mentioned in the Bible (e.g., 666 of Revelations 13:18, the 36th triangular number; 1335 of Daniel 12:12, the 30th pentagonal number; 2300 of Daniel 8:14, the 20th tetradecagonal number). The resulting table, "inexaustae scientiae tabula secretissima

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[52] William R. Shea, "Descartes and the Rosicrucian Enlightenment", in R. S. Woolhouse (ed.) *Metaphysics and Philosophy of Science in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Kluwer; Dordrecht, 1988, pp. 73–99.

arithmeticis arcana," is identical with Pascal's triangle. By using it, Faulhaber was able to set out new formulas up to the hyperpyramidal numbers of the fourth degree, even for 120, the 15th triangular number. The goal was to produce a perfect algebraic equation that would generate all the significant years in the apocalyptic chronology, past and present. Such a general formula would also be applicable to millenarian prediction. The exercise was inspired by an original computation on "cossic" or algebraic numbers published at Strassbourg in 1525 by Christoph Rudolf and made popular in Michael Stiefel's edition *Die Coss Christoff Rudolf. Mit schoenen Exempeln der Coss* (Königsberg, 1554).[53]

Following these suggestions, Faulhaber published his table as a response to the Rosicrucians. He dedicated it to "Polybius Cosmopolita," with the title *Mysterium Arithmeticum. sive, Cabalistica & Philosophica Inventio, nova admiranda & ardua, qua numeri ratione et methodo computentur, mortalibus a mundi primordio abdita, et ad finem non sine singulari omnipotentis Dei provisione revelata . . . FRC Famae viris humiliter & sincere dicata* (Ulm, 1615). Arithmetical series of this sort had been used by Michael Stiefel for his apocalyptic prediction for 1533 and by Eustachius Poyssel for 1623. They were now combined with logarithms (trigonometric shortcuts developed by Paul Wittich), particularly in the biblical commentaries of Jean Napier. These logarithms became important in England in 1624 when Joseph Mede started to apply naometrism to Bible chronology. The calculations of Mede, the colourful interpreter of Revelations 20, influenced the mathematicians John Pell, Isaac Barrow, and the Hartlib circle to start probing the meaning of the Apocalypse.

Many years later, Faulhaber built fortifications for the Swedes at Donauwörth and in June 1632 he published a sinister prediction derived from figurative numbers. It is entitled *Vernünftiger Creaturen Weissagungen*, and he illustrated it by a wonderful deer, a Wunderhirsch, whose hooves and horns are measured to give numbers corresponding to the Apocalypse. Faulhaber warned that the measure means that "the hero will be shot." His prediction was fulfilled in November

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[53] On Stiefel and the Rosicrucian tradition of number alphabets, see Ruth Tatlow, *Bach and the Riddle of the Number Alphabet*, Cambridge University Press; Cambridge; 1991, esp. pp. 59ff. As an engineer and fortificationist, Faulhaber (d. 1635) was in contact with Gustav Adolf, August of Braunshweig-Lünebourg, and Philip von Hessen-Butzbach. He also practised alchemy. See Hans Schick (1942), p. 231n.

1632 at Lützen, when Gustav Adolf, riding astray in the mist, fell from his horse with blood streaming down his chest.

In his *Arithmeticus Cubicossicus* (Ulm, 1604), Faulhaber used "cossic" or algebraic numbers representing cubes or higher powers, "symbols representing the unknown as in Christoph Clavius' *Algebra* (Bamberg, 1608)." These cossic numbers were sometimes perceived as acrosticons that hide higher orders in the system or as tools for hiding mathematical insights from the vulgar. They were a vast improvement in the engineering world and are accordingly laid out by J. V. Andreae. Descartes used a variant of them that he is said to have picked up from Snell or Girard in Holland in 1624. Faulhaber's work in Ulm was crucial, however, to Descartes' first view of his new system, and the encounter apparently led him to philosophize more deeply on the nature of intuitive knowledge claims.

In his *Cogitationes Privatae*, Descartes mentions the work of the mathematicians Peter Roth and Benjamin Bramer who knew Faulhaber and worked on the same kind of problems. Descartes records the ingenious instruments for the transfer of drawings, the tracing of lines, and the measuring of angles used in Faulhaber's circle. Bramer was a student of the astronomical artisan Jost Bürgi at Hesse-Kassel and had personally gone to Prague to present Bürgi's mechanical heavenly globe in silver and gold. He later wrote a monograph on Bürgi's inventions of the geometric triangulation instrument, logarithms, the proportional circle, and the pendulum. In 1617, both Bürgi and Bramer acquired positions as court tutors to the dukal sons at Hesse-Kassel.[54] Their knowledge of Rosicrucian number problems extended into more complex mathematical games.

After collaborating with Isaac Beekman in writing on the theory of music in 1618, Descartes went to Copenhagen in Denmark. He told Beekman that in spite of the rumours of war in Bohemia he planned to take a ship to Danzig in order then to pass on safe roads south through Poland and Hungary, finally to reach Austria and Bavaria. A year later, Descartes returned to finish a treatise on solids, the polyhedra, *Prosgymnasmata de solidorum elementis* (ca. 1620/23). He used ideas from Faulhaber's methods, but he improved greatly on the solutions offered at Ulm and gave a refined analysis of the class

[54] On Bürgi and Bramer at Hesse, see Christoph von Rommel (1837), vol. 5, p. 489, vol. 6, p. 473. Cf. William Shea, *The Magic of number and Motion—the Scientific career of Descartes*, Science History Publications, Canton MA, 1991, pp. 103–105.

of problems posed. In the analysis of polyhedrons, mathematicians had frequently made use of "pyramidal numbers," such as the product of factors 5! (1 × 2 × 3 × 4 × 5) = 120. Faulhaber found that they are referred to in Genesis 6:3, "And the Lord said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he *is* also flesh: yet his days shall be a hundred and twenty years." Surely, this is Rosicrucianism.[55]

In the creative atmosphere in which Descartes was led to his "wonderful invention" on the eve of Saint Martin's day, 10 November, 1619, there were strong utopian hopes about a forthcoming general analysis formulated by means of algebra. Mathematicians such as Faulhaber openly claimed that this new analysis would deliver all the secrets of nature. Indeed, in his *Miracula Arithmetica* (1622), Faulhaber boasted of his skill in computing the volumes of truncated pyramids and claimed to have a general proof of how to derive the square of the base in a three-sided pyramid from knowing the three top angles. As Ken Manders shows, Descartes actually makes a (flawed) attempt at it in the *Olympica* of 1619/20. The analysis of how to transpose the trisection of an angle onto two or more planes thus may well be the problem that faced Descartes while he sat thinking in the stove-heated room described in *Discours de la Methode.*[56]

Descartes entrance on the scene in Paris began with a debate in 1627 with a virtually unknown controversialist and chemist by name Chandoux, probably a Paracelsian. After having been courted by Cardinal Bérulle, Descartes again resettled in Holland to write *The World, a Treatise on Light* (1629–1633), an unfinished treatise for which he feared condemnation. Descartes' skill and interest in trigonometry, on the other hand, stemmed from reading Keplers' *Dioptrics.* A glimpse of his concerns is offered in a letter to Constantijn Huyghens, the count of Zulichema, written in 1635 after Descartes had received a visit by one "Morian of Nüremberg" with whom he had discussed lens grinding and the construction of the hyperbola. Descartes was in the process of making detailed observations on the angles of

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[55] For Faulhaber see, P. J. Federico, *Descartes on Polyhedra—A Study of De Solidorum Elementis*, Springer; New York, Heidelberg, Berlin, 1982, p. 135 n. 21, pp. 60–62, 116–118. Cf. Gustav Enestrom, *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, Stockholm, 1906, pp. 405–406 and Pierre Costabel, *Ecrits pour les élements des solides: essai en complement d'Euclid: Prosgymnasmata de solidorum elementis*, P.U.F.; Paris, 1987.

[56] I thank Ken Manders for the important insight on the pyramid problem. That this exercise was in answer to Kepler's small treatise *The six-cornered snouflake* (1603) in which he treats of the closest possible packing of spheres in pyramids of triangular or square base has not been proven, but seems possible.

refracted light in different types of crystals.[57] This was in continuation of research described in correspondence earlier that year with the Arabist and mathematician Golius at Utrecht; Descartes sought to explain the perihelion observed by German astronomers in 1633 by working on geometric principles identical to those that he thought produced the corona of light and similar luminous phenomena. Significantly, after encountering Huyghens, Descartes approached Golius with a pointed Hermetic joke; if metempsychosis took place and he had Socrates' reminiscence of ideas, it would make him believe that his soul had formerly been in the body of a man who had the same thoughts as himself at present.[58]

It appears that the laws of refraction absorbed Descartes' attention even at his second stage of mathematical invention; he so admired Kepler's improvement on al-Hazen's optics of rays that he decided to work them out with further generality. His use of negative roots in the *Geometry*, on the other hand, was taken from Cardano's mathematical magic, from the "radix falsae" or "fictae" also mentioned by Rudolf and Stiefel.[59] Descartes was even led to believe that his new synthetic methods reconstituted the lost geometric algebra used by Pappus, Diophantus, and other Alexandrian mathematicians. Later, Descartes confessed to the Dutch polyglott Anna Maria van Schurmann that he had wanted to study Hebrew in his youth to find out what Moses really meant with the statement, "the spirit of the Lord moved upon the face of the waters." He had reached the conclusion that there was nothing clear and distinct in what Moses had said and decided to leave the issue.[60] In his vortex theory, Descartes assumed that the creation of the world must have proceeded on geometric principles in a closed universe of the Tychonian type, thus allowing movement of matter in circular paths that created great whorls of matter in space.

Numerous indications are that Descartes' final choice to become a professional mathematician was influenced by Rosicrucian readings. As argued by Paul Arnold, Descartes' report of his famous sequence of three "Olympian dreams" in November 1619 was written on the

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[57] Descartes to Constantijn Huyghens, 8 December 1635.

[58] Descartes to Jakob Golius, 16 April 1635, 19 May 1635.

[59] See David E. Smith and Marcie L. Latham, *The Geometry of Descartes*, Dover; New York, 1954.

[60] For the statement to Schurman in 1648 see, *La Vie du Feu Monsr. de Labadie*, Paris, 1705, p. 283.

model of the contemplative journeys set out in Rosicrucian texts. To Descartes, these dreams appeared as similar to the vivid imaginations offered by inspired poets, yet they were not so much prophetic as confirming. However, his method was to isolate the distinct levels of order and quantity in mathematics, a process of abstraction that would free the idea of number from geometrical imagination.

An ingenious recent interpretation shows that Descartes' dreams record his choice not to take up his family profession, not to become a magistrate of Law (le droit). In this context, John R. Cole shows that the first dream repeatedly puns on the word "droit" as the indecisive youth is unable to walk straight (droit) through the riveting storm. Descartes' final disobedience to his father's wish is thus acted out in a dream recorded on the eve of Saint Martin's day at Ulm, the same day on which he had received his license to practise Law at Poitiers three years earlier. In a subconscious turn of hidden tribute, Descartes' father, the jurist Olympe-Joachim Des Cartes, appears in Descartes' marginal note to the first dream, *Olymp. Cartes.*[61]

The scientific career of Descartes (his escape from Catholic France, his secluded life in the Netherlands, his motto "he lives well who lives well hidden," his interest in life-prolonging medicine, etc.) in many ways embodies the ideal of a Rosicrucian. One must concede, however, that while Cartesian science was influenced by ideas and principles formulated in millenarian algebra, Descartes discarded the millenarian beliefs central to German Protestants. For example, in 1632 he desired that a new "celestial history be compiled after Bacon's manner without any theory or hypothesis added."[62] That Descartes was suspected of being a Rosicrucian in Paris in 1623 reflects more the self image of German mathematicians than on the nature of his new science.

In reflecting systematically on Descartes' mathematical intuitionism, Jean Vuillemin notes that the objects for study in Cartesian physics usually are curves constructed by a gliding set square, which is to Descartes' *Geometry* what compass and ruler is to Greek mathematics. Yet,

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[61] For Descartes' repeated use of the day of Saint Martin, the patron saint of Poitiers, see Paul Arnold (1990), pp. 312, 332. Descartes is buried in St. Germain de Près, the oratory built to commemorate how St. Martin there had cured a deceased man from leprosy by giving him a kiss. For an analysis of the dreams, see John R. Cole, *The Olympian Dreams and Youthful Rebellion of René Descartes*, Univ. of Illinois Press; Urbana and Chicago, 1992.

[62] Descartes to Marin Mersenne, 10 May 1632.

> Interpreters have wondered why Descartes, despite his full-blown conception of mathematical physics, came, with the exception of his geometrical optics, to build only a mechanist, but purely descriptive, system of Nature, from which all standards of scientific measurements are simply banished. . . . The reason for his failure to carry out his programme of mathematical physics is to be sought in the over narrow conception of geometrical functions as exact proportions, i.e., as algebraic curves. . . . Descartes identification of what physicists later called analytical curves—the curves which Nature is supposed to follow in its course—with algebraic curves had a direct effect upon the problem of differential equations, the problem of vibrating strings. Descartes certainly introduces a legitimate usage of mechanical curves 'with a thread or bent cord' (such as the gardener's ellipse) for constructing algebraic curves such as those met with in the *Dioptrics*. But he immediately adds that we must admit into geometry "no lines similar to cords, i.e., that become now straight, now curved, because, the proportion that exists between straight and curved lines being unknown and even, as I believe, being unknowable among men, nothing could be concluded that would be exact and assured."[63]

On this level of an assured and final insight limited by simple methods of linear projection, the plain architectural world of J. V. Andreae is on par with Descartes' *Geometry*. To validate the artisan's knowledge-by-construction, Andreae illustrates in his compendium how methods of engineering, optics, and design can be justified as consequences of first principles. Descartes' *Geometry* is more precise and subtle, of course, his drawing of tangents to curves and his defining of number as lengths of lines far more advanced. His even more ambitious plan was laid out in the preceding *Discourse on Method*, a text that he initially thought of as "A project for a universal science capable of elevating our nature to its highest possible perfection."[64]

The content of the Rosicrucian pamphlets indicate an important phase in the period during which the craft of the artisans was beginning to be accepted in learned circles. Similarly, even though schooled by Jesuits, Descartes did not remain confined to the Catholic scholastic way of learning; rather, he vigourously drew upon the skills and playful speculation among practical engineers. Fascinated by the power of human invention Descartes had a decidedly Platonic

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[63] Jean Vuillemin, *What are Philosophical Systems?*, Routledge and Kegan Paul; London, 1984, pp. 129–130. Quote from the *Geometry* in *Oeuvres de Descartes*, Charles Adam and Paul Tannery eds., Paris, 1897–1913, vol. vi, p. 412.

[64] Descartes to Mersenne, 10 May 1636. Descartes wanted to extend the studies on Comets published by Tycho Brahe in 1603. Descartes agreed with Tycho's view that the planets "bathe in subtle matter."

tendency, as in the *Principles* (1,17) where he says that when we see perfection in a thing, we recognize that the cause of it must be more perfect;

> so that if we are told of that someone has an idea of a machine in which there is great artifice, we have reason to ask whether he has somewhere seen a similar machine made by another, or whether he had a thorough knowledge of the science of mechanics, or whether he had such force of mind to be able to himself invent the machine without having seen anything similar anywhere else. For we recognize that for all the artifice that is represented in the idea, as in a picture, there must be a first and principal cause, not merely obtained through imitation, but that must exist in the idea itself formally or eminently.[65]

It is probable, however, that Descartes never saw Andreae's compendium. Descartes joked about the Rosicrucians being invisible. After failing to find any of them in 1619, or so his biographer Baillet asserts, Descartes instead invented an ironic title to a treatise, *The Mathematical Treasure Trove of Polybius, Citizen of the World*, in which, in addressing "the distinguished brothers of the Rose Croix in Germany," he claims that he himself had solved all the difficulties in the science of mathematics.[66] Andreae's compendium had, on the other hand, a definite influence in Sweden; Johannes Bureus' Pythagorean student Stiernhielm owned a copy.[67]

Oculus Sidereus: A Synthesis of Astronomical Ideas at Dantzig

The place of Johannes Bureus among early Copernicans has been discussed by Henrik Sandblad. Bureus' Hermetic readings on the nature of the heavenly waters went hand in hand with complicated mathematical work with the astrolabium. In some respects, he identified with the role of court astronomer, as held by Postel, Dee, Roeslin,

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[65] My translation after Ferdinand Alquié, *Descartes Oeuvres philosophiques*, Garnier; Paris, 1973, tom. III, p. 102

[66] William R. Shea (1988), p. 84. *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, eds. J. Cottingham, R. Stoothoff, D. Murdoch. Cambridge University Press; Cambridge, 1985, pp. 1–2.

[67] Preserved at De Geer's Finspång collection no. 17218, Norrköpings Stadsbibliotek. (In 1709 the book belonged to Anders Drake.) Cf. the *Memoriale Mathematicorum* produced by Stiernhielm and his student Johannes Megalinus (who calls himself Jesu Magistro) at Wasula in 1655. See, MSS. F.d.15 and F.d.18 at Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm.

Brahe, and Kepler. Even at an early stage, Bureus was prepared to take the final step towards Copernicanism. On 6 July 1595, he wrote in his diary of an observation, "I found myself that motum ♀ & ♂ verum were circa ☉ as well as their retrograde motion, before I saw theorum planetarum." Bureus read Tycho Brahe's *Astronomia Instaurata* and learned of the northern prophetic scenario. At about this time, in 1606, Bureus speculated that comets are created at the beginning of the world, but that God is responsible for their light. He shared ideas with his cousin Andreas Bure, who was appointed royal astronomer and also oversaw some aspects of the construction of the Vasa ship.[68]

By stressing Bureus' influence on Stiernhielm and the latter's affirmation of Giordano Bruno's conception of an infinite world space, a liquid everywhere dense, Sandblad concluded that these speculations were "isolated phenomena." Since the conservative scientists at Uppsala university did not accept the new ideas, their publications had a very scant diffusion in Sweden.[69] Yet, Sandblad's picture of isolation is somewhat overdrawn. Bureus' interest in Copernicanism emerges in another light in Abraham van Franckenberg's most interesting text, the *Oculus Sidereus* (Danzig, 1644). Franckenberg sets out to explain Copernicus' system as a consequence of biblical views, and he promises to give "a thorough proclamation on the doubted re-ports of the earth's motion, and on the true form of this visible world, towards a higher understanding of God and his wonders."[70]

Franckenberg's tract is a significant defense of Giordano Bruno's cosmology, the belief in an unbounded, uncentered universe unfolding uniformly in all dimensions. Signalling its esoteric bent, the title page displays a crowned eye adorned with wings from an eagle and a swan, an emblematic arrangement first suggested by Peter Nagel of Rostock in a report on the "Rosicrucian" comet of 1602 in the Swan. The wings are meant to represent the comet's path through

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[68] Bureus' diary 6 Juli 1595, *Samlaren* (4) 1883, pp. 14, 37, 108.

[69] Henrik Sandblad, "The Reception of the Copernican system in Sweden" originally in *Lychnos* 1970, translated in Jerzy Dobrzycki, *The Copernican Revolution*, Reidel; Boston, 1972, pp. 241–270, p. 246.

[70] *Oculus Sidereus oder neu-eröffnetes Stern licht und Ferngesicht zu grundlicher Erkündigung der unbeglaubten Relation von Bewegung der Erdkugel, und der eigentliche Gestalt dieser sichtbaren Weldt; wie auch zu höheren Erkenndtniss Gottes und seiner Wunder*, Danzig, 1644. Copy with dedication to Bureus and marginal notes preserved at Uppsala UB. A similar dedication to Herzog August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg is now preserved at HAB, Wolfenbüttel.

the aquilone and cygneic celestial signs.[71] Franckenberg gives a handwritten dedication to Bureus, whom he greets as a "theo-sophorum lumini." He adds a textual arrangement alluding to Bruno's idea of a uniform generation from point to line through the monas, or the Pythagorean infinite cause, the interplay of the limited and the unlimited in Bruno's *De triplici minimo et mensura* (Frankfurt, 1591):

Unum

Infinitum Perfectum
ubique, Totum

In

minimo maximum:

maximo minimum

OMNIA
ex Nihilo:
et
in Nihilum
OMNIA
O
momentum
AETHERNITAS

When a circle expands to infinity it approaches the infinite line. Then, Franckenberg goes on to investigate Bruno's universe with reference to the infinite space of Cusanus, and to the metaphysics of light conceived by Patrizzi and Campanella. He explains that the view of the universe as an unbounded transparent liquid—everywhere dense and decentred—originally was an Hermetic-Pythagorean doctrine, and is expressed in Trismegistos' use of the Monad. This is further argued for through Bureus' explication of Psalms 104:5, the hermetico-biblical view of an original creation out of a chaotic mass vivified by the light of nature.

The recent advances of "theosophs" such as Bureus, in promoting the ideas of Cusanus, Paracelsus, Bacon, and Postel, are shown to accord with the new cosmology, particularly in their claims that

[71] Cf. Will-Erich Peuckert (1973), p. 43.

"the heavens are located anywhere in the infinite Deity" and that "stars are systems composed of aqueous matter." Franckenberg refers to the cosmological formulations by the "astrosophs" Michael Maestlin and Reymarus Ursus, to Kepler's *De nova Stella in Serpentario* (1606), to Christoph Scheiner's *Rosa Ursina* (1620), and to Tobias Adami's edition of Campanella's *Defense of Galileo* (1620), a text in which was emphasized Galileo's mathematical atomism as a consequence of Bruno's position, and also the possibilities for a religious reform without boundaries. Descartes is also mentioned as a modern cosmologist in this irenic tradition; particular reference is made to his *Dioptrics*, to his conception of space as a plenum, and to the new explanation of the comets in his *Principia Philosophia*.[72] Many sections deal with the numerical mysticism of Francesco Georgi and Petrus Bongus, while the idea of a plurality of worlds is shown to concord with the view of the Hebrews as presented in problems 12 and 28 of Menasseh ben Israel's *De Creatione Problemata* (Amsterdam, 1638). The plenist space thus harkens back to the fiery water of a space-like Deity, the Aesch-Maschim of the Kabbalists.[73]

The copy of the *Oculus Sidereus* now at Uppsala has a handwritten dedication by Franckenberg, and references are added in the margins to specific places in the works of Francis of Verulam, i.e., Bacon.[74] Throughout the tract, Franckenberg presents Bureus as a mystical defender of the Copernican world system, and he reproduces ideas from Bureus' broadsheet *Haebraerorum philosophia* (Stockholm, 1641). Bureus had sent him a copy after Franckenberg, in a letter of the same year, had touched upon his difficulty in understanding the extremely compact and obscure content of the seven chapters in *FaMa e sCanzIa reDVX* (1616). In his commentary on Bruno's view that "the center of gravity is in each and every body" (the anti-Aristotelian conception of "a center without location, with its circumference nowhere," an Hermetic phrase first used by Alain de Lille), Franckenberg proceeds on Bureus' Paracelsian lines; he exploits the close linguistic connection between the Latin terms faeces/faces (rotting mud/form) to explain the creation of the stars out of some original celestial vapors, the "heavenly waters" in biblical terms.

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[72] *Oculus Sidereus*, paragraphs xxxiiff.

[73] *Ibid.*, appendix. Frequent references are to Petrus Rittangel's edition of the *Sefer Jezira*, Amsterdam, 1642.

[74] *Ibid.*, index. references are to *Novum Organon* and *Sylva Sylvarum*. The printed

At the end of Franckenberg's *Oculus*, there is a list of Giordano Bruno's publications. Bruno's open-minded patron in 1588–91 is praised, Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, who had these texts published. Bruno's text edited by the Paracelsian thinker Raphael Eglinus, *De Entis descensu, Lampas Metaphysicae* ((sic) Zürich, 1585) is on the list, apparently by its original title. Franckenberg confesses to have read Bruno's more familiar works in the library of Max of Hesse at Lessno in Silesia in 1640. His list of Bruno's work has a particular kabbalist glow, for at the entry on Bruno's esoteric treatise on "the thirty lights," the *Sigillum sigillorum*, Franckenberg adds a marginal note, "Lampas Cabalistica." He considers that this important manual perhaps can be obtained at places Bruno passed through, cities such as Paris, Prague, Braunschweig, Wittenberg, Helmstedt, and Frankfurt am Main; "the price will however not be small." Inevitably, the question arises: should we regard the *Oculus* as the final depository of ideas taken up by the northern "Giordanisti"? Bruno was accused by the Inquisition as having founded such a group in Germany. His studies at Wittenberg and his influence at Helmstedt seems to confirm this, while his contact with Raphael Eglinus was more important from a Rosicrucian perspective.[75]

By contrast to Sandblad's pessimistic view, several sections in *Oculus Sidereus* show that Bureus' mystical compatriot van Franckenberg was closely associated with the advanced astronomer at Danzig, Johan Hevelius. In 1647, Hevelius published a study of the phases of the moon, *Selenographia*, that contains a host of congratulary verses from friends in Danzig, among them van Franckenberg and the Pansophist educationalist Cyprian Kinner at Elbing, a collaborator with Comenius and Samuel Hartlib, now in England. Through a wide network in astronomy, and particularly through extensive correspondence addressed to the French Copernican Ismael Bouilliau, Hevelius launched a program for a new cometography.

With one of these letters, Hevelius sent along a copy of a remarkable letter from Tycho Brahe to Caspar Peucer at Wittenberg, written in 1586.[76] In it, and very important, Tycho directly expounds

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text mentions Bacon's *De Augmentis Scientiarum*; also the scepticism of Pyrrho and Sanchez.

[75] Cf. Savero Ricci, "Un commento secentesco al Immenso di Bruno: Oculus Sidereus di Abraham van Franckenberg", *Nouvelles de la Republique des Letttres*, 1985, pp. 49–65.

[76] Hevelius to Bouilleau, 1657, MS. Fond Fr. 13040, ff. 162–169, esp. f. 167.

on the Hebrew concept "Rachia" of *Psalms* 104:6 and 135:7, i.e., "the heavenly waters" thought to fill the universe with a light everywhere diffused and, as Tycho points out, seen in the saphiric colours of the sky. The ethereal region, except for the matter of the stars, is composed of a very pure ethereal substance, by testimony of divine wisdom regarded as fluid and liquid.

Tycho warned of the scholastic view and opposed the philosophy maintaining that the planetary orbs are solid and that the earth does not move. The cosmology given by Moses is instead that light is everywhere diffused in space and that for its renovation, the dense vapours of the heavens (needed for creating a new star) will be circumfused around the firmament ("schamaim" in Hebrew). Space is conceived as a sensorium of God, or, as Tycho Brahe explains in his collection of biblical passages:

> Psalm 135, He extends his providence through the dense and opaque shadows of the heavens, with the purest light the fluids are subjected to his control. Psalm 104, He stretches forth the heavens like a garment, as with a sensuous membrane, as in Isaiah 51:13. The corruption of heaven & earth will bring forth the renovation of each, the liquid vapours by which the Hebrews say the heavens circumfuse and circumflow, "Schamaim," that is, in that water Gen. 1:7, Isaiah 24. Psalm 18:11, in water He set his tabernacle.

Ultimately, Tycho had been led to consider the verse of the psalmist: "He made darkness his secret place; his pavillion round about him *were* dark waters *and* thick clouds of the skies." The attempt to envision the cosmos without the Aristotelian solid orbs forced him to consider alternative metaphysical views, and the Physica Mosaica suggested itself. At Prague Tycho sought out David Gans, a disciple of Rabbi Loew, the Imperial kabbalist. Gans translated the Alphonsine tables for him and produced his own historical record, *The Star of David.*[77] One of Tycho's students, the Paracelsian Kort Aslaksson, published a treatise in 1597, *De triplici natura coeli*, on the

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"Psalm 135 providentia extendit ad coelos umbris densum et opacum, luci purissima subjectum imperia systema fluidum illud. Psalm 104 extendens caelos sicut pellem, quae cum membrana sensu idem est Esia 51:13 de coeli & terraque corruptia, qua fiet renovatio utriusque coeli sicut fumus liquicent a quibus Hebraeum coelium nominent circumfusa et circumflua 'Schamaim' id est ibi aqua Gen. 1:7, Esia 24, Psalm 18:11, in aquis tabernacula sua."

[77] Another manuscript of Gans later was part of Queen Christina's Collection, his *Zurat Ha-Arez*. See André Neher, *Jewish Thought and the Scientific Revolution—David Gans (1541–1613) and his Times*, Littman Library; Oxford, 1981, p. 53n.

nature of celestial fire, the fiery water, or watery fire, conceived by the Hebrews and commented upon by Averroist Aristotelians such as Zabarella. It appears that the new star provoked Aslaksson to explain how solar energy is created. Near at hand was a contemplation of the Mosaic view, a preoccupation not unknown among Rosicrucians. These profoundly transformative metaphysical discussions influenced Hevelius and the Danzig circle, and they started to focus on the Tychonic proposals for a new cosmology.

Another interesting feature of the copy of the *Oculus Sidereus* at Uppsala is that Franckenberg makes special handwritten references to Salomon Majus, the pseudonym of Fredrik Menius, the playwright at Dorpat in Livonia and author of *Pandora Sophica: Consensus Hermetico-Mosaicus*. In 1643, Menius was condemned for unitarian tendencies and his book was drawn in by the Swedish authorities. He had left his sectarianism open to view on the demonstrative title page to the *Pandora Sophica*. He adorned it with a Hermetic-Unitarian placard, "Ex unio Omnia," and claimed that it merely was an allusion to chemical operations. At his trial for heresy in Stockholm in 1646, prosecutors specifically warned that if Menius was exiled to Danzig, he could join there with others of the same dangerous sect, probably Franckenberg's group.

In the year following the death of Gustav Adolf, Menius had written a pamphlet with biblical calculations concerning the exceptional conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter, and also Mars, near the new star in Serpentario of 1603/04, entitled *Proba der Letzten Zeit* (Dorpat, 1633). He followed Kepler's explanation of the location of the new star in relation to the three planets, but interpreted the star itself as the Son of Man seated on the celestial throne in front of the three arch angels.[78] There was a full scale theatre at Danzig, "the Fencingschool," an exact replica of the Fortune Theatre in London, with a permanent English theatre company (John Green's men) playing there until 1620. In the collection of English comedies and tragedies in translation that Menius published in the same year, two plays by Shakespeare were included: *Titus Andronicus* and *Julio and Hyppolita*, identifiable as *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.[79] Menius befriended the English actors

[78] The coat-of-arms is in the manuscript dedicated to Queen Christina, MS. P8, Uppsala UB. Reproduced in Gunnar Broberg, *Gyllene Äpplen*, Atlantis; Stockholm, 1992, vol. I, p. 191. Cf. Johan Nordström, "Fredrik Menius—en äventyrlig Dorpatprofessor och hans glömda insats i det engelska komediant dramats historia" *Samlaren*, 1921.

[79] Jerzy Limon, *Gentlemen of a Company—English players in Central and Eastern Europe,*

at the court of Phillip Julius of Pommerania at Wolgast, the citadel town where Menius worked as a lawyer. He also visited them on the more permanent Danzig stage. As a German poet and playwright, Menius is likely to have learned of the Rosicrucian "astro-spiritual" ideas at Danzig well before 1620.[80] Hermetic concerns are evident in his later spiritual tract *Pandora Sophica*, where there is a striking Rosicrucian line taken from the biblical tragedy *Esther*, "bis an der thau des himmel wirsth erhaben werden, till' the dew of heaven falls."[81]

Elsewhere, I have shown that Giordano Bruno's ideas about an infinite universe and a plurality of worlds, were quite familiar to Queen Christina in 1646 when she asked to have them discussed by Descartes in correspondence.[82] I suggested that she took these ideas from the investigations of Menius' heresis. I also noted that while she showed some initial scepticism, she developed a great interest in them. It is now clear how this could have come about, for it is significant that Christina used the code name, "Dr. Theophilo," when writing her secret letters to the Jesuits in 1651. Her pseudonym is identical with Bruno's code name during his early period of Cusanic mysticism. The Brunonian arguments presented in Bureus' copy of the *Oculus Sidereus* could well have been the origin of the Queen's interest. Given the cosmological debate underway in Johannes Bureus' ambiance—at this time also including the speculations by Georg Stiernhielm—it is only natural that the Queen would say that she wanted to discuss Catholicism with Jesuits specifically skilled in mathematics.[83]

1590–1660, Cambridge University Press; Cambridge, 1993, pp. 88–89, 129ff. Other plays in Menius' *Englische Comödien und Tragödien* (Altburg, 1620) were the comedies *Fortunatus, Von Jemand und Niemand*, and *A King's Son of England and a King's Daughter of Scotland*, p. 51.

[80] Menius used a work printed by Lucas Jennis, Theodor Garzani's *Piazza universale, d. i. allgemeiner Schauwplatz oder Marckt und Zusammenkunft aller Professionen, Künster, Geschäften, Händeln und Hantwercken, so in der gantzen welt geübt werden, auch wann und wem sie erfunden*, Frankfurt, 1619. See Gustaf Fredén, *Friedrich Menius und das Reportoire der Englischen Komödianten in Deutschland*, Stockholm, 1934, p. 13.

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 184, 316. Fredén points out that Menius' predecessor in millenarian calculation, Bartholomeus Ringwald, also wrote a play, *Speculum Mundi* (1590) that gives British-style stage directions.

[82] Susanna Åkerman (1991), pp. 9, 53, 90, and also pp. 100, 277. Note that Menius in 1638 set up a play *Protheus Nuptialis* for Åke Tott, father of Christina's favourite Klas Tott.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 53. Descartes replied to Christina's questions about whether the Cartesian ideas on infinity were heretical by saying that the Church accepted the views of Nicolas of Cusa, which were similar to his.

The heavenly waters (and fires) of the Hermeticists now emerge as a salient element in the cosmogonies perpetuated among a fair number of important people in the Baltic region, first openly, but then seemingly clandestinely. The Hermetic influx of ideas and their reformulations in the Baltic coastal environment also has a wider significance. Franckenberg's reference to Scripture as the preferred locus of enlightened understanding shows that a replacement was being prepared for what was now thought of as sterile scholastic abstractions. New beliefs were sought in intellectual regions that had more direct scriptural support. The spiritual aspects of this project of cultural regeneration show that Franckenberg's aim was not merely one of searching for historical authority. Rather, it was part of a wider attempt to ground the new models culturally in astronomy by projecting and extending a new Hermetic, or Mosaic, metaphysics.

Thus, when mathematicians (e.g., Tycho's rival Paul Wittich) working on the models of Copernicus actually could show how a gradual passage from a heliocentric to a geo-heliocentric universe is possible, this move not only would save appearances, but also could appeal to the culture's overriding consent to revealed doctrine. This is why the uncentred universe of the *Hermetica* was so attractive; it opened a way for Copernicanism to be accepted without denying Divine revelation. The Hermetic idea of an original revelation facilitated acceptance of the celestial intelligences at work in Averroistic metaphysics, intelligences that propelled motions through the soul of the world, that moreover were explained by the geometric optics developed by al-Kindi, al-Hazen, and other Arabic Aristotelians. The belief in revelation as a privileged source of knowledge could ultimately also be used to explain the failure of Descartes to win intellectual support in Stockholm in the winter of 1650. Trying to convince the Swedish Queen that she must abandon her scholarly readings into the roots of the "philosophia perennis," Descartes was met with disfavour and charges that he knew nothing of ancient philosophy.[84]

Johannes Bureus' Influence as Ariel Suethicus

Bureus influenced the Swedes to enlarge upon his astronomy and his geographic ideas, and they learned from his Postellian reverence

[84] *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 49.

for the Runes and from his belief in the northern roots of the ancient wisdom. But on his death in 1654, his larger import outside Scandinavia was still to be seen. Fortunately, in 1646 Bureus' *FaMa* was received by van Franckenberg and his circle as a fresh impulse in the ongoing unfolding of the apocalyptic scenario. Through the private circulation of his manuscripts, a growing number of readers were brought to see that Paul Grebner's visions on the northern Lion matched with Bureus' new chronology, where 1613 had to give way to 1673.

New audiences in Danzig, Amsterdam, and England now recognized that *Ariel Suethicus* had transferred the Rosicrucian calculations into a new era. This was important, for sceptical readers concerned with the future had noticed the text by Irenaeus Agnostus, *Prodromus F. R. C.* (1620), who stated that "The English have a prophecy that when Good Friday shall fall upon St. Georges Day, as it did anno 1546, then shall Gods word breake out in their Kingdom with power." The day of the patron saint of England, St. George, falls on 23 April. Good Friday, on the other hand, depends on Easter and must fall between 22 March and 25 April. According to Dionysius Exignus Paschal Circle (a calendar), Good Friday has fallen on the day of St. George only ten times since the council of Nicea, as in 1451 and in 1546, during the reign of King Edward VI. The circle shows that this will not soon occur again, so Agnostus concluded instead that the prophecy should have stated "when Good Friday falls on St. Marks day, 25th of April, as in 1641."[85]

The deep-seated cyclical time consciousness recorded in Dionysius Exignus' paschal circle was a Byzantine factor that had been active in the west at least since 1453. That a single Puritan scribe could ironically dismiss its predictions by a brazen change of saints and days probably signals the approaching end of the Renaissance. Think how far this irony was from Christian Rosencreutz's solemn confession in 1459: "One evening before Easter . . . as I was trying to prepare inwardly a pure unleavened loaf to accompany my blessed Paschal Lamb, there suddenly arose such a terrific wind that I thought the mountain on which my cottage was built was going to split apart?"

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[85] Ms. Sloane 648. f. 31. British Library. On f. 41 there is a report to Hartlib of a book received from Bernard de Collen, reminiscent of Bureus' *FaMa*: "Clangor Buccinae Propheticae de novissimis Temporibus in my judgement absolutely is the best book on the Reign of Christ on Earth. No author has written so plainly of this mystery & no one so sholarly at his assertions out of Scripture." But, to call Bureus' text "plain" is not right.

And note how far it was from Johannes Bureus' humble beginnings, as he, in November 1595, sat down in his cottage to meditate on a Greek cipher and pensively noted that this was the first Friday eve after St. Martin's day.[86]

As we have seen, the division and tension between a proto-pietist and a profoundly more magical Rosicrucian school has posed a perennial problem in the historiography of the Rosicrucians. The Sabéan astro-spiritual structure, the magic based on geometric optics and synchronicity, however, gradually lost its cultural plausibility as cosmological workers shifted towards more individualized empirical measurements.

The loss of the pre-modern scientific framework has often obscured the Rosicrucian school to such an intolerable degree that it no longer even can be understood. By way of concluding this book, I would like to reemphasize that the scientific millenarianism formulated by Johannes Trithemius (d. 1516) transformed, shortly after the death of its main expositor John Dee (d. 1608), into a theosophic-symbolist millenarianism in which the hermeneutic manipulation of signs took primary place, leaving the serious study of comets and alchemy in the shade. The shift is exemplified by the British scientist Robert Hook's attempt to interpret Dee's records of Enochian magic as veiled political instructions; he argued that Dee's angelic keys worked as a cipher or political code designed by the Elizabethan Secret Service.[87] Similarly, he claimed that Dee's studies of spiritual glyphs is foremost a contribution to symbolist thought, with consequences not so much in science, as in the political and diplomatic realms.

Before we leave these romantic centuries of Rosicrucian diplomacy and initiation let us once more return to the tradition. Clearly, in the later period, the general and precisionist biblicism of the Arndtian Rosicrucians remained more akin to Lutheran ideals than the occult Arabisms inherent in the truly Rosicrucian scheme. But without having in mind the Arabic formulation of the works of the seven angels and celestial influence, it would be impossible to understand the heart of the Rosicrucian school: the astro-alchemical synchronisation with apocalyptic signs.

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[86] Cf. *The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz, Anno 1459*, The First day. Cf. Johannes Bureus' diary, *Samlaren* 1883, p. 14.

[87] Robert Hook in *Posthumous works* (1705) cited in *DNB* "Dee, John".

Bureus' ideas on the New Jerusalem, on the rebuilding of the Temple of Ezekiel, and on the future dispensation, incorporated the older Sabéan framework of a sevenfold periodic cycle, later superimposed by the threefold Joachite scheme, as in Postel, Roeslin, and their followers among the Rosicrucians. Also, Bureus believed that the pristine kabbalist understanding of the three magi stemmed from an acceptance of Sophia as the wisdom of the world. It was taught by Enoch, whose followers transmitted it through Arabia, Ethiopia, and Egypt, from where it reached Greece only in occluded form. Gradually, the influence from the seven planets declined as a primary area for scientific study, but the Rosicrucian idea of the higher self as priest and king (in the female, goddess and queen) survived in theosophic speculation. Rosicrucian threads—in their original Arabic-Hebraic form—have since then been an overlooked perspective on cultural developments even in the demystified age we now call the Enlightenment.

On these grounds, I have initiated a new history of the Rosicrucian enlightenment, a study that has one of its roots in the mythical past of the Lion of the North, subtly fed by the streams flowing forth from Mount Helicon, a mythical past that we have but barely glimpsed. It remains to conclude that Rosicrucianism continues to exist in the imaginal realm projected by obscure and even concealed authors. The concrete reality behind these writings will probably remain elusive, even when, as attempted here, particular diplomatic networks offer the best context for their understanding.

CONCLUSION

I have shown how the Rosicrucian movement grew out of a handful of anonymous Rosicrucian writings. The two first manifestoes define the nature of the brotherhood, while the many replies extend the first statement in various directions. J. V. Andreae is the author of the *Fama* and the *Confessio*, but is not responsible for what the other writers wanted to use the Rosicrucian format for. The common feature of the pamphlets is a particular millenarian tone generated by the astronomical theory of the great conjunctions.

The scenario proposed by Frances Yates cannot be maintained as originally stated. She sees the Rosicrucian movement as part of a British-led political plan to support the rise of Fredrick of Würtemberg. But neither the *Fama* nor the *Confessio* was written with any such notion in mind. Nevertheless, prophetical statements on the rise of a political leader that would liberate Protestant Germany were frequent in the Paracelsian milieu in which the Rosicrucian pamphlets appeared. These statements took the form of the prophecy of the Lion of the North, a theme found in the *Confessio*. A major source for these statements are Paul Grebner's leonine prophecies in which Grebner sees an alliance between the Protestant German states, Huguenot France, and England. The prophecy of this alliance is repeated in Simon Studion's naometrian manuscripts and is thus part of the millenarian background to Andreae's writings.

The influence from John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica* with its alchemy of dew can be traced among the Rosicrucian authors, but it is unclear what they wanted it to represent.

Johannes Bureus millenarianism grew from a reading of Postel's pamphlet on the new star of 1572. He focuses on the chronogram IUDICIUM, or 1613, found in the writings of Helisaeus Roeslin. The debate on the new star generated by Postel is an active ingredient in the astronomical debate on substantial change of the heavens and the coming of the new age. Another feature of Bureus' pamphlets is his use of the Adulruna. It is to serve as a glyph representing the moon in the center of the sun at the same time as it works as a norm for the Runes. In this, one can see Bureus' hyperborean tendency, his attempt to ground the history of Scandinavia

in the fiction of the ancient beginnings of a primal tribe who had taught the alphabet to the European peoples. In his Rosicrucian writings of 1616, Bureus announces the secrets of the northern antiquities and held out the promise of the rise of a saviour nation in the north. Later, he is inspired also by the Lion prophecy that reached him in 1625 with the visit by the Rosicrucian Joachim Morsius.

The millenarian tone of the Rosicrucian pamphlets had the effect that they were most influential in the time span up until 1623, when the great conjunction was set in the sign of Leo. Later Rosicrucians had to modify the millenarian message, thereby making the expectations a permanent feature of the doctrine. The day of great change was to appear at an uncertain date in the future. Rosicrucianism thus lost preciseness and became a doctrine without a clear focus. It could live on in writings such as those of Abraham van Franckenberg, who added new Christian elements to it. But the debate had ceased. No more replies were being written after 1623. Even so, the initial writings were read and enjoyed by many readers throughout the century. In 1710, the Rosicrucian Order was revived by a Pietist from Silesia, Sincerus Renatus, or Samuel Richter, who founded the Gold- und Rosen-Creutz Orden. A new phase of Rosicrucianism was thus brought about.

APPENDIX III

THE ROSICRUCIAN SIGNIFICANCE OF LAMPERTUS' LIBER FLORIDUS

Liber Floridus was written in 1120 by Lampertus de St. Omer, a canon at the Onze-Lieve-Vrouw chapter of Sint-Omaar; a subject of Robert le Frison, Duke of Flanders and Crusader to Jerusalem in 1096. The text is an unfocused encyclopaedic compilation with main entries on the history of Flanders, Normandy, and England, on the struggles of the Investiture, and on prophecies of the Anti-Christ. The text is a major source for the Frankish succession from Priamos of Troy through Pharamonde down to Charles the Simple (923), and it takes account of his agreements with Rollo the Viking and the counts of Blois in Normandy. In a significant move not depending on Rollo, but rather discussed in the context of the chroniclers of the Saxons and the Goths, Arnulf and Isidor of Seville, Lampertus locates the origins of the Franks to the "insula Scanzia", or Norway, as descendants of Japhet, son of Noah. Lampertus also traces the succession of British Kings. He copies sections from the astronomy of the venerable Bede, "De signis coeli", beginning with those passages describing the stellar constellation Arcturus Major, or Helix, and notes that there is seven barely visible stars in its "head", among 18 stars in all. The following Bedean note on the 24 stars of Arcturus Minor, or Fenix, gives Lampertus occasion to exerpt texts on the rule of King Arthur in Britain. Lampertus gives a map of Frankish Europe (of Gallia and Germania, but with no representation of Britain), accompanied by geographic notes of Hrabanus Maurus and Freculf of Lisieux. A major part consists of Apocalyptic sources illustrated by the Temple in Jerusalem, and the twisting serpents Behemoth and Leviathan. Two poems identify the painter, Petrus Pictor of Flanders.

Nine copies are extant. The autograph is in Ghent. It derives from the monastery St. Bavon, where a copy was made as late as 1460. Copies are now in Paris, Douai, and Chantilly, in the Italian Durazzo-collection, in Wolfenbüttel, and in Leiden. Two copies are at the Hague, one of which is the fifteeenth century French translation "Livre Fleurissant en Fleurs." Articles describing the two MSS. at The Hague appeared in *Serapéum* in 1842 and 1845. Cf. *Patrologia Cursus Completus. Series latine.* t. 163, Migne ed., Paris, 1864.

The copy preserved in the collections of the Princes of Condé at Chantilly has a unique feature. As Delisle observes, it displays "un Lion nimbé et crucifère, symbole de Jesus-Christ" with the text "O de stirpe davidica, ortus de tribu Juda, leo potens, surrexisti cum gloria" (f. 43). Ostensibly this image displays a crossmarked Lion as an icon for the resurrected Christ.

The copy now at Leiden (Voss. Lat. F. 31) was bought by Queen Christina of Sweden in 1651 from Alexander Petau in Paris, and was taken by her

to Antwerp after her 1654 abdication. The copy is singular in reproducing only two illustrations, those of the city of Jerusalem and of the Temple. Christina's librarian Isaac Vossius catalogued it for further transfer to Italy. The library was probably intended for Naples, where Christina in 1657–58 sought to become ruler through a secret bid with the counts of Savoy and Modena, a bid recorded in a contract with Mazarin drawn up in Paris in 1656 after her arrival in the city on the white horse of Henry de Guise. In the contract, Christina says that as she will have no descendents, she will hand over the throne of Naples to a French Prince. Several manuscripts in her collection could have been used to prove her own extraordinary genealogy, either as stemming (remotely) from the Ostrogoth Theoderic the Great or (directly) from Canute, the eleventh century Dane. Cf. Åkerman (1991, pp. 90, 118ff.).

The copy now at Wolfenbüttel was donated to the library by the Silesian knight Marquard Gude (1635–1689), who was persuaded to do so by its librarian, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. It reproduces all the illustrations of the autograph at Ghent, including the Lily as the Church of virtue. New illustrations not found in other copies are also added, making this copy the most lavishly produced.

That W. F. C. Wigston should have associated this rather obscure manuscript with Ben Ionson's *Fortunate Isles* is doubly intriguing. In 1891, Wigston could hardly have known that Helisaeus Roeslin used "Lampertus Floridus" as a pseudonym, nor that Roeslin influenced the apocalyptic chronologies of the Rosicrucian authors Carl Widemann, Raphael Eglinus, and Johannes Bureus. Thus, Wigston's claim that "Lampertus Floridus Mss. commentary on Plato's Gorgias" is the source for Jonson appears wildly overdrawn. In *Liber Floridus*, Lampertus collects passages from Isidorus of Seville's *Etymologia* (XIV, vi, 8) that describe the fortunate isles, but there is no mention of any "Olympiodoms", a term more likely alluding to Pindar's Olympian Ode (III:14–35), "where airs born of oceans are water round the Island of the Blest".

Could it be that Wigston found a reference to the *Floridus* while looking for the sources of the island *Macaria* mentioned in Thomas More's *Utopia*? As is well known, More wrote his utopian tale on a diplomatic journey to Flanders in 1515. More claims to have met a Portuguese sailor in Antwerp, Raphael Hythlodaye, who told him of his journey with Amerigo Vespucci to Brazil. They had seen many groups of islands, the Azores, the Macaria, etc. It would be easy to explain Jonson's verses by pointing to this tale; one could then proceed to the legend of the Fortunate Isles in Isidore, or in his classical sources, thus entirely avoiding reference to the virtually unknown text "Lampertus Floridus on Plato."

Wigston's claim is most likely caused by his being absorbed in sixteenth century Arcadian poetry. Actually, the Fortunate Isles are described in the *Vita Merlini* by Geoffrey de Monmouth as an Island of Apples. In sixteenth century England, this island was transformed into Avalon, a poetic space beyond the British Isles. Avalon occurs as a "Celtic Otherworld" in the chivalric poetry of Spencer and Sidney, who mention mystic prophecies about islands. There was a specific British reference to Avalon by the Puritan John Bale, who in his apocalyptic commentary on Daniel and St. John of

1548, used the isles as an imaginary scene for Reform. Wigston's hypothesis concerning the Fortunate Isles could thus have drawn energy from political poetry on the joining of non-Roman lands into a new gracious union.

The Roeslin-as-Floridus manuscripts listed in 1638 by the Rosicrucian author Carl Wideman at Augsburg include no mention of a MS. on Plato's Gorgias. Could it be that Lampertus de St. Omer's Frisian context of 1120 directed English interest towards the *Floridus* as a background to other Anglo-Frankish writers? For example, Geoffrey de Monmouth's *Vita Merlini* of 1148 uses the very same passages from Isidore, but then adds Celtic myths concerning King Arthur's flight through the "many realms among the waves" to the remote Island of Apples.

On the other hand, the Scandinavian origin theory of the Franks would have been of greater significance to Helisaeus Roeslin and other German/French medievalists (viz. Postel, Bongars, Crucius, Bureus). The idea of the Franks as stemming from "Scanzia" through Japheth's grandson Askenaz balanced the idea of the Celto-Gauls as stemming from Samothes, the druidic fourth son of Japheth. *Liber Floridus* no doubt connects events on the first crusade to emergent ideas of political Hyperboreanism.

It is tempting to suppose that Roeslin's apocalyptic *Speculum Mundi* (on Frankish royal succession) was given as a gift in 1580 to the Swedish King John III and his brother Carl, because Roeslin, stemming from Elsass-Lothringen, was convinced of Lampertus' medieval hypothesis. The Swedes, with their wars against Catholic interests in Polish Lithvania and with their diplomacy against the advance of the Teutonic Order in Livonia, appeared as central to the political restructuring of northern Europe hoped for by Protestant activists such as Helisaeus Roeslin.

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